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RECENT POLITICAL EXPERIMENTS IN THE
SWISS DEMOCRACY.

The tiny Swiss Republic, thanks to specially favorable conditions, has within the last fifty years made very valuable experiments in the organization of democracy, in the putting into practice of the democratic principle which may be summed up by the word, government of the people by the people.

Doubtless, many of the institutions she has inaugurated, could not be exported, and would, perhaps, taken as they are, be ill-suited to other commonwealths; the Swiss experiments may, however, contain results useful to other nations, for nothing human is uninteresting to man.

But many think that political machinery is not of the first importance, for according to Montesquieu, the best guarantee of democratic prosperity, lies in civic virtue. The best form of government is liable to be led astray by politicians. Beware of politicians! The workman makes the tool, not the tool the workman!

One ought, however, to allow that, talents being equal, a man well equipped will turn out better work than a man supplied with inferior tools. Moreover, in the domain of politics, the tools, *viz.*, the government system, have not only a practical significance but a very important educational function. Indeed, they either enable the citizens to control efficaciously the march of public affairs, or hamper them in so doing by hindering their efforts whenever they take an initiative.

A marked change has taken place during the second half of this century in the organization of the Helvetic Democracy. The latter, at the outset, was akin in form to what is called representative government; the only notable difference was that the executive, both in the federal and in the cantonal spheres, was not at the mercy of a parliamentary majority. It was appointed either by the people or by legislative assemblies, for a term of years, and held office irrespective of party votes till the end of its tenure. Representative government has been gradually superseded by a sort of direct government in which the people themselves manage their own affairs—and this by means of their comitia. Sovereigns *de jure* they have become sovereigns *de facto*. The political centre of gravity has been displaced.

Three great steps have been accomplished in the line of direct democracy, and these three stages are the referendum, the right of initiative, and proportional representation. It is not our object here to state by a thorough analysis the precise form which the new institutions have taken and the particulars of their working. To treat this side of the question would fill pages with dry and documentary details of information which may be secured otherwise. We simply want to give a general view of the subject.

Our readers must bear in mind that Switzerland is made up of twenty-five small republics, twenty-two cantons, three of which have been subdivided into two half cantons. They form so many states, enjoying nowadays a rare degree of

autonomy having their distinct and separate history, and possessing an organization which frequently varies greatly from one to the other. Consequently to study politics in Switzerland is to travel intellectually across twenty-five democracies as different, in many respects, from each other, as were the small Greek republics. Athens and Sparta belonged to the same race and spoke the same language; but that was all, and the student of politics might have been fully acquainted with one and entirely ignorant of the other.

In Switzerland, however, there are not merely separate states to consider, since they have realized the scheme which the Greeks vainly dreamed of for their beautiful country; since although separated, they have succeeded in uniting for the sake of higher national interests. The sister republics are members of the Swiss Confederation, which also has a political life of its own.

Before dealing with the main point of the subject, a few preliminary remarks will help to explain the causes of the phenomena we are about to describe. The stream which we shall follow has deep and secret sources.

As a rule, all the improvements of any importance that take place in the Swiss Democracy originate within the bounds of the cantons. Here is the laboratory for new political and administrative schemes. It is only after having proved successful on a small scale that an experiment has a chance of being tried in the sphere of the Confederation, and the reason for this is obvious.

There are changes which are better tested in humble communities. Here, indeed, the people can bring their interests to a practical issue more readily than in larger commonwealths. In fact there is no discovery of any sort which has not in its past development a period of patient and obscure preparation. And there we find, by the by, a testimony to the excellence of decentralization as an incentive for a people to modify their political organization according to circumstances and the nature of their peculiar genius.

It must also be borne in mind that the new departures in the evolution of the Swiss Democracy have been in no way discoveries in the proper sense of the word, forms which did not exist and were brought to light and to life by dint of science, mental effort and meditation, but only and purely outgrowths of old forms of government, which have been properly adapted to the needs of modern life.

It is known that in some communities the citizens, from time immemorial, have met on an appointed day, generally now in the first weeks of the spring, mostly in May, to elect their magistrates, ratify the new laws or measures prepared by the authorities, vote the taxes and, in truth, act for a few hours as a nation managing its own affairs. Here we have what the German language has termed *landsgemeinden*, or assemblies of the people. Nobody has ever attended such mass meetings without being deeply impressed by their simple grandeur, nay, their sublimity. Let us quote a few lines from Edward A. Freeman's "The Growth of the English Constitution," to show what an Anglo-Saxon thinks of such a spectacle:

"Year by year, on certain spots among the dales and the mountainsides of Switzerland, the traveler . . . may look on a sight such as no other corner of the earth can any longer set before him. He may there gaze and feel, what none can feel but those who have seen with their own eyes, what none can feel in its fullness more than once in a lifetime, the thrill of looking for the first time face to face on freedom, in its purest and most ancient form. . . . There, year by year, on some bright morning of the spring-tide, the Sovereign People, not entrusting its rights to a few of its number, but discharging them itself in the majesty of its corporate person, meets in the open market place or in the green meadow at the mountain's foot, to frame the laws to which it yields obedience as its own work, to choose the rulers whom it can afford to greet with reverence as drawing their commission from itself. . . .

"We may see the institutions of our own forefathers, the institutions which were once common to the whole Teutonic race, institutions whose outward form has necessarily passed away from greater states, but which contain the germs out of which every free constitution in the world has grown."

Beside the *landsgemeinden*, in which the citizens of a whole canton act as lawmakers and sovereigns, a practice of a similar character, although more modest in importance and more reduced in its field of action, exists in the "communes,"—(*Gemeinden* in German, analogous to the New England towns)—of different cantons, where the citizens hold, on the same principle, conventions *in pleno* to discuss and settle their local affairs.

Now, it may be observed that on such occasions the people are at liberty to overthrow the work of their rulers, if they choose. This is the principle of the *Referendum*. They have on the other hand a right to move any kind of proposal which they hope may become a matter of legislation. This is the right of *Popular Initiative*. And, at last, all shades of opinion stand face to face in those great comitia; there is no exclusion of a political party by another party on the ground that majorities can overrule and oppress minorities. This is the starting point of *Proportional Representation*.

But what are the causes which prompted the Swiss people to come back to the old features of primitive self-government, and to adapt them to the necessities of the times?

The reason of the reappearance of the system of direct democracy is the failure on the part of the representative government to make good its promises. Between the years 1846 and 1848, the last surviving oligarchies had collapsed and had been succeeded by governments freely chosen by the people. But very soon the people came to the conclusion that they were in the hands of "rings" or "cliques," organized for the purpose of grasping the honors and the benefits attached to the possession of power. The interests of the masses were neglected, important minorities had but few members to defend their views in the political assemblies, special measures having been taken violently to suppress their influence, for gerrymandering and electoral tricks are not entirely American devices and the Swiss may

claim some part in them. The public expenses were rapidly increasing, and the taxes, too, in the same proportion. It was a very frequent thing to use the enlarged revenue, not with a view to develop the natural resources of the country but as a means to reward the political services, either of individuals or of collections of individuals, groups, special places, or districts. In short the Swiss soon perceived that their older oligarchies had often been better than the new ones, as the modern politicians were frequently men of shady reputations; indeed, the ancient patrician families, however narrow and unconscious of the necessities of the hour they may have been, were at least, as a rule, patriotic citizens, devoted to the public welfare, jealous of their good standing and not making a business of their political influence.

People, therefore, began to think of applying the methods of direct democracy to what had been thus far representative government. The principal change consisted in this, that the conventions of the people in mass meetings were replaced by consultations through the instrumentality of the ballot-box—the only practical form consistent with the conditions of communities of some magnitude in surface and population.

The referendum now exists in all parts of Switzerland, with single exception of the canton of Fribourg, where the Catholic Conservatives are all powerful. It is used also in federal matters. It presents two forms.

It may be compulsory, as is the case in the great cantons of Zurich and Berne. If so, all laws or measures of some interest which have been passed by the legislatures must come before the people who generally, however, are not called upon to express their judgment on them before there is quite a number of bills to be simultaneously acted upon. The majority of votes cast decides as to their adoption.

But the referendum may also be optional. Such is the case in many cantons and in the Swiss Confederation

considered as a nation. What is then required to start the machine is a petition signed by a certain number of citizens; in the Swiss Confederation (containing nearly 700,000 voters), 30,000; in the canton of Geneva (with about 20,000 voters), 3500; in the remaining cantons the figures are calculated to correspond with the size of their population. The request sent to the authorities asks them to submit to the people some particular bill. This having been done, the rest of the proceedings is the same as for the compulsory referendum.

It should be noted that public opinion in Switzerland is deeply divided as to the comparative advantages of the two forms of referendum. Partisans of optional plebiscites say that what they principally want is a kind of sword of Damocles hanging over the heads of the men in power. But that system imposes on the citizens a great deal of trouble and considerable expense in collecting signatures. It presents also this drawback, that it unfavorably prejudices the question at stake. Why this is so any one may readily understand. An agitation having been especially directed against a certain bill the popular mind is likely to be affected by it when the day comes for the final vote. For these reasons the drift of sympathies tends decidedly towards the compulsory referendum.

The referendum is a negative right, a sort of veto power left with the people. But a sovereign not only needs to be armed with a right of undoing things: it must also possess a positive, a creative and a constructive right as law giver, and this is exactly what the popular initiative means.

Practically the initiative is a method of allowing the individual citizens to submit to the people any kind of proposals they wish. This law-making process reminds one of what takes place with the referendum. It begins with the drawing and signing of a petition, but the names which must accompany it may be more or less numerous than for the obtaining of the referendum; there is here

no strict principle involved—in the Swiss Confederation the number of signatures has been fixed upon at 50,000; in the canton of Geneva, at 2500.

There are two manners of presenting a proposal to the people. The first thing which may be done is to ask the authorities, be it the Federal Chambers or the Cantonal Legislature, to frame a law or take any measure with a specific purpose. This demand, whatever its nature, must be complied with.

The other way is to have the petitioners themselves present the law or measure in which they are interested, under the definite form it should receive. They act with the whole of the nation in the same manner as the members of a deliberative assembly act with that body, when they come forward to move a resolution. There are good reasons to think that this second form will more and more obtain the preference. People who have any desire to see legislation modified have a greater confidence in their own wisdom in framing a bill than in the hurry of a political body to gratify, by their legislative collaboration, a purpose with which they do not always sympathize.

The referendum and the right of initiative have given rise to some objections. The former, it has been said, is essentially negative, it has canceled a great many measures enacted by the authorities, it impedes legislative work. This is an exaggeration. The rejected measures fell by the verdict of the public because there was something in them, which the people did not approve. Later on those laws are taken up again by the legislature or chamber. After they have been revised so as to form a kind of second edition, they are then adopted or ratified by the people, without difficulty.

The right of initiative, it is alleged, has thus far only resulted in federal matters—and, cantonally, it must work in much the same way—in bringing about strange results. In its first operation, two years ago, it introduced a law

against the Jewish mode of slaughtering cattle; in the second one, on the third of June, 1894, it endeavored to have the "right to employment" acknowledged by the constitution; this was rejected. Before coming to the third and last operation, let us pause a moment. Here our answer, in presence of such facts, is that the right of initiative, especially at the outset, was expected to have some awkward consequences. But where is the serious harm it may be instrumental in doing? It can incorporate in the constitution things of a queer appearance, such as the butchery ordinance of 1893,* but these apparently awkward measures happen to be in accordance with the popular wish. This is democracy. It can also deal with proposals of an impractical, dangerous, socialistic character, as the right to labor, but in an enlightened community such schemes are sure to meet with a decisive opposition, and in such circumstances the resort to the plebiscite has the effect of purging the political atmosphere of chimerical and distracting elements. This clearing the ground has been generally acknowledged to be most useful.

But let us come now to the third and last case in which, up to the present time, the right of popular initiative was resorted to. The question at issue originated among the Catholic and some Protestant Conservatives, and was soon known under the very appropriate name of the "Spoils Campaign" (*Beutezug*). The bill framed on this occasion by the initiators aimed at obtaining money from the federal treasury for the different cantons which was to be apportioned at the rate of two francs per head of population.

The chances of success for the new crusade were great at the start. The federal government had caused some

* A short explanation may here be required. In spite of an undeniable dash of antisemitism to be regretted, that regulation, now a constitutional amendment sanctioned by the citizens, must be regarded as an important step in a new direction. The Swiss people declared that public law should not neglect questions of humanity, even towards animals. If local or cantonal authorities had in that respect given satisfaction to the feeling of the people, the strange ordinance would never have been thought of.

dissatisfaction by exaggerated expenses and by somewhat undemocratic conduct toward the wishes of the people. A few days before the popular vote, there appeared in one of our periodicals a discussion of the question by M. Numa Droz, late president of the Swiss Confederation. He said that the referendum was good for the welfare of our commonwealth as a means of controlling the work of the lawmakers, but he considered the introduction of the right of initiative as the beginning of the era of demagoguery. If the "Spoils Campaign" should succeed, said he, the basis of our public law would be altered and shaken, and no other resource would remain to the friends of democracy than to call together a convention in order to frame a new Swiss constitution, doing away with such exaggerations of democracy. Never since the agitation of 1848 had Switzerland experienced such a vital crisis.

But the "Spoils Campaign" was defeated by more than two to one in the vote of the fourth of November last. The atmosphere suddenly cleared. The fears expressed by M. Droz vanished. Everyone felt that the Swiss people was ready for direct democracy. The *Temps* of Paris echoed such views and said that the Swiss democratic institutions were now proven safe. It is to be observed that the same paper had begun by asserting that they would upset our democracy.

Now we come to the third of the decisive conquests of democracy in Switzerland, *viz.*, proportional representation, the introduction of which was accompanied with greater difficulties than attended the referendum and the right of initiative. The object in view, as has already been said, was to enable the different political groups existing in the community to make their influence felt in political bodies.

According to the "majority" system now in force almost everywhere, the party forming the majority is entitled, in each electoral district, and each district as a rule elects several representatives, to the possession of all the seats to be filled at the polls. It may, it is true, not avail

itself of its right and make some concession to the minority, but this is only an accident, a pure exception. This anomaly, inherited from the times when a tyrant wielded a despotic power, has this consequence, that there are many citizens who are practically deprived of their part of sovereignty, who never succeed in electing one of their candidates anywhere, and become, in fact, a caste of modern pariahs, in spite of all the glorious professions of modern democracy summed up in the celebrated motto of the French Revolution: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!"

But injustice and oppression, even when they wear under the hypocritical mask of legality, bring forth bitter fruits. What would become of a financial corporation from which the stronger party could expel the weaker? The corporation would break up. If a state is not shattered in the same manner when the majority of its members violate the rights of the minority, it is only because there is no possibility for the dissatisfied to retire from the political compact, but nevertheless harmony is destroyed and violence must needs be felt in some way or other. Popular representation is in its essence fair representation. Any opinion which is professed by a group of men of some numerical importance has, in each electoral district, a claim to obtain its apportionment, greater or smaller, according to its strength, in the distribution of the seats.

As soon as this improvement on the old tyrannical methods has been achieved the ballot is no longer a desperate battle between antagonistic armies. It is a peaceable competition in which the different athletes obtain the reward they are entitled to. The seats in the political bodies, instead of being taken by storm, are distributed among the combatants in the *ratio* of their numerical importance, and, in that way, representative bodies may be compared to a reduced photograph of the whole nation.

As early as 1864 there was founded at Geneva, by the initiative of Professor Ernest Naville, the great and eloquent

advocate of proportional representation, the first association for the promotion of the new principle of which the noble-minded John Stuart Mill had been one of the first apostles. Sad events had made the minds of men reflect on the iniquity of the electoral system in use; the two prominent political parties, the Conservatives and the Radicals, had collided in a fratricidal riot on an election day, and blood had stained the streets of the old city. Very soon the "reformists" started sister associations in other parts of the Swiss Confederation.

Then, for about thirty years, proportional representation was most carefully studied from every side, and its modes of application appeared in a definite shape. The system was ready for use, but who would take it? A very nice and good thing, exclaimed men of a realistic turn of mind, but purely utopian, and nothing else!

Such was the situation until four years ago. At that time a revolution broke out in the canton of Ticino, that portion of Helvetian territory bordering Italy, and in which the Italian language is spoken. The government of that region had fallen into the hands of the Conservative or Catholic party, but recent elections had revealed the fact that the people by a small majority were Liberals.

Gerrymandering or, as we say, electoral geometry, had permitted the Conservatives to retain the power. After their *coup d'état* and an election in which they had obtained a very precarious plurality, the Liberals in their turn were greatly inclined to use gerrymandering in the other way.

But, by so doing they would have assumed the responsibility of a protracted and fruitless agitation. Proportional representation soon appeared to both parties as not only the surest, but the only resource left to them to pacify the canton. Thanks to the careful study it had received at the hands of the associations of reformers all over the Confederation, it was in fit shape for immediate use, and it gave satisfaction to all.

Here we must stop a moment to make a very important remark. Had not the system of proportional representation been carefully worked out by men who, believing in the correctness of the principle, were desirous of changing the basis of the electoral law, the great achievement in the cause of justice and peace we now rejoice at, in Switzerland, would not have been effected. Is not this an eloquent encouragement to every man to look for the truth and prepare its advent, no matter if the feeling of the people should even be strongly adverse or skeptical at the beginning? The reformers, a small handful of workers, met with but little encouragement at first, they were opposed by almost all the men playing some part in politics and who enjoyed the reputation of being practical. But an hour came when the stone intended to be put at the corner of the edifice of democracy was found useful and was used. In the organization of free government there is something which is left to the brain and the spirit of research. The power of thought is a living force and no department of the world can prosper where it is stagnant.

From the canton of Ticino the movement pursued its course. The new electoral system was adopted two years ago by the cantons of Neuchâtel and Geneva, and last spring by the canton of Zug. In many others its day is coming.

But what of the Federal Chambers? A movement is on foot, supported by men of varied opinions, to introduce there also the proportional principle, but we know by experience that the fortress of the Confederation does not surrender to political reforms until most of the cantons have been conquered.

I am disposed to think that my readers would be gratified at obtaining some information about the method used in applying proportional representation. This point may be explained in a few words.

The methods vary from one canton to the other, although they all come to a satisfactory result. The difference lies

mainly in the fact that they do not all leave to the voter the same amount of liberty. Hence their greater or less degree of complexity. Suppose, for instance, that it is not permitted to put on a ticket a name which already appears on another ticket, in that case the electoral operation is much simplified, but the voter is somewhat disturbed in his habit of voting for any man he likes.

We do not hesitate to say that the mode which has been adopted in the canton of Geneva answers better than any other the requisites of the system. In the preparation of that law special honor is due to M. Alphonse Frey, a member of the reform association and of the cantonal legislature where he introduced the bill which became our present electoral law. The following are some of the prominent features of the method.

Every group or party must present its list of candidates, its ticket, a few days before the opening of the polls. The tickets may contain common names, but the common candidates are compelled to declare for what ticket they desire to stand; otherwise their option is obtained by lot.

All the suffrages given to a common candidate, no matter from what source, are counted as one suffrage, not only to him but also to the ticket to which he declared himself to belong. Suffrages given to men not official candidates are considered as null and void. Incomplete tickets, *viz.*, tickets containing fewer candidates than there are seats to be filled, are permitted, and it is expected that they will become the rule. Here is, for instance, the "Liberal ticket." Suppose there are ten names to be polled for. The Liberals say: "According to our importance we may expect to obtain two seats, under the most favorable conditions, three; in order, however, to feel perfectly secure we will present four candidates—Frank, Henry, John, and William."

Now the time for counting the vote comes; how will it be done? We will take some instances and to make things simpler, will deal only with the "Liberal" vote. Let us

then read and count a few ballots, presenting the principal combinations which may occur.

First ballot. Here we have the ticket unchanged, Frank, Henry, John, and William. We shall sum up the vote as follows: Expressed suffrages, 4; unexpressed ones, 6. Value to the credit of the "Liberal ticket," 10 *suffrages*.

Second ballot. One of the four names, Henry, has been struck out and not replaced. Expressed suffrages, 3; unexpressed, 7. Value to the credit of the Liberal ticket, 10 *suffrages*. We may observe, that crossing off one or several names on a ticket is not forbidden, but, on the contrary, recommended as a means of placing the candidates in the order of preference.

Third ballot. Here we read, Frank, Henry, John, William, Charles. Charles is a name borrowed from another official ticket which we will call the "Patriotic ticket." The result is: Expressed suffrages, 5; unexpressed, 5. Total, 10, of which 9 to the credit of the Liberal ticket and 1 to be added to the count of the Patriotic ticket.

Fourth ballot. Frank, Henry, Abraham—three names, of which two only are regular candidates. The latter not being a candidate—we suppose, indeed, that it is not to be found on any of the official tickets—is considered as null and void, and the summing up will be: Expressed suffrages, 2; unexpressed, 7; null and void, 1. Total, 10, with the figure 9 to be placed to the credit of the Liberal ticket.

When the counting has been done separately for all the ballots, classified according to their categories, it remains to form the special count of every ticket and to apportion the seats. This does not present any difficulty.

Let us suppose that the Liberal ticket polled 9407 suffrages (expressed or unexpressed); the Patriotic ticket, 3227; the National ticket, 2081, and the Independent ticket, 6339, and that there are no other tickets in the field. The final result will be given by a simple rule of

three. But first of all we must add the four numbers, which give 21,054 suffrages.

Then comes the elementary rule of proportion: Liberal ticket, 21,054:9407 :: 10 seats:x; Patriotic ticket, 21,054:3227 :: 10 seats:x, and so forth.

The candidates to be sent up to the deliberative body by each ticket are taken on every ticket starting from him who made the highest poll and going down until the repartition is complete.

To sum up the matter, let it be understood that there are two countings, the counting of tickets and the counting of personal suffrages. The first operation gives the proportion of seats which must be attributed to each group or party, while the counting of names on each ticket assigns to each nominee his respective position within his own party or group between the candidates of his political color.

When a member of the assembly dies during his tenure of office, he is succeeded by the first of the non-elected candidates on his ticket, and a by-election is thus saved. The adversaries of the reform at Geneva had boldly announced that the counting of votes would be most complicated, so that it might last till doomsday. They were entirely mistaken and they have been obliged to acknowledge their error. In reality it was sooner done than formerly under the old system. Tables of recapitulation had been prepared and work went on without the slightest hitch. The greater part of the ballots are deposited in the ballot-box without any change, which greatly helps the work.

I can hardly describe the feeling which was experienced at Geneva at the first application, some three years ago, of the new electoral law. All were amazed at the beauty of the result, and the former adversaries of the improvement were no longer disposed to wage war against it.

Instead of the two ordinary adverse tickets we had five, one of the great parties having divided into two secondary groups, the other into three, but after the election they again

fell into two great political parties. As soon, however, as politics do not form the main interest there will be a tendency more and more accentuated for these five groups to subdivide again, like living mosaics going with facility from one place to another.

The movement towards proportional representation may be considered as irrepressible now in the Swiss Confederation, and the Swiss expect that it will in the course of time, go the round of the other civilized countries. There are already almost everywhere associations actively engaged in promoting its development and at the head of those associations we find men like Sir John Lubbock in London, Professor Emile Boutmy, director of the School of Political Science at Paris. There are reviews and pamphlets carrying everywhere the doctrine; there is one in Switzerland, there is another excellent one in Belgium, and we have applauded here the appearance, two years ago, at Chicago of a valiant little periodical, the *Proportional Representative Review*. We may have hopes for the future abroad, as well as in Switzerland.

Nothing at the present time is more striking than the advance of proportional representation in Switzerland, its native place. Hardly a month passes in which some new step is not made. The latest and most decisive success has been the adoption of the system in the federal city of Berne for the election of the municipal authorities. This result has been attained by the union of the Conservatives with the Socialists against the Radicals. The town, thanks to decentralization, acted on that occasion as a political unit. In the canton of Fribourg, one of the last bulwarks of ultramontane despotism, proportional representation is optional in municipal matters, and recently some places availed themselves of that possibility. Now more than ever the introduction of the new mode into federal elections is the great aim of many. Other reforms will still be accomplished in the line of direct democracy in the small land walled in among the giant-like ridges of the Alps.

One more subject is worthy of notice, *viz.* the compulsory vote which is just beginning to be practiced in some districts of the canton of Zurich. This step is in full accordance with the principle involved in the notion of democracy, and it must be borne in mind that, in the *landsgemeinden*, attendance is compulsory. It is, indeed, the people and not a portion of the people that form the ruling sovereign. In the constitution of the canton of Neuchâtel voting is presented not as a right but as a positive duty, but there is no penalty prescribed in the law for negligence of the duty which is an anomaly. A small fine, as in Zurich, may be commended.

We can observe at the same time how expedient it would be to annex to the compulsory vote the voting by proxy, accompanied with every kind of guarantee as to the honesty of the dealing. Here again Zurich, the foremost Swiss democracy, stands as an example.

But what is most urgent is the extension in all possible directions of the popular privileges already enjoyed. They must be adopted in municipal as well as in cantonal and federal matters. This is what is now in progress. We mentioned above the introduction of proportional representation into the town of Berne; the municipal referendum was adopted in the canton of Geneva a short time since.

As for the rest we must express some regret that the experiments in the way of democracy did not begin in the circle of the commune or parish. It would have been their natural birthplace. M. Leroy-Beaulieu, the editor of the *Economiste français*, declared himself in favor of a municipal referendum; and what is "local option" in America if not the germ of a municipal referendum which might be enlarged?

On the other hand it is evident that proportional representation was the first step to take, since it is the central point of reforms, and a point of such importance that, after it has been gained, the other popular rights become less

necessary. But what would be the logical march of things is not always the historical process. Things develop usually much more according to practical necessities than according to a rational plan.

Nothing is more frequent now for us than to see foreigners come to inquire about the results of the changes in our democratic machinery. As a rule the people are satisfied, except impenitent politicians who regret the days of yore, when they were "making fair and foul weather," to use a picturesque French idiom; but such is the present tide against them that they feel bound to hide their wrath.

The conversation, however, generally goes further. What can we do, ask the students in sociology, to try among us the recent democratic experiments which did so much to make self-government a fact in Switzerland and purify the political atmosphere? Here is our opinion on the subject.

The rational program would be the application of direct democracy to municipalities, to begin with, and in that domain the introduction first of proportional representation, —the great reform—then, if the want of them be felt, the referendum and the initiative would follow.

But more than anything else, act according to circumstances. Whenever something needs a thorough change make the change with this great principle in view, to increase the powers of the people.

We are aware that this proposal will frighten many a liberal-minded man. But we ask: Are not the people the sovereign, since they select the different governments? The question at issue is to know whether they are better fitted to decide upon men than upon things. Here the answer resulting from the experiment made in Switzerland is clear. The very citizens who often choose bad men to act in their stead do show remarkably good judgment when they deal with concrete politics. In such cases they evince a rare degree of independence, and obey much more the impulse of their common interest than political passions or

prejudices. Be assured, the remedy for the evils of democracy is to be found in an extension of the democratic principle. The results in that respect have been a very great surprise in Switzerland to men of moderate opinions.

Thanks to circumstances, more than to their political genius, the inhabitants of William Tell's country have now got the upper hand of the politicians. On the ninth of June last, in the legislature of the canton of Geneva, one of the men warped by party spirit who most fiercely opposed the greater part of the views expressed in this paper, said: "Were it not for proportional representation, of which I am an adversary, I would say that referendum, popular initiative and proportional representation are the best methods of controlling local affairs." We would add of controlling the government, either municipal, provincial or national.

It is a pity, it will be said, that these institutions are not as well fitted for large as for small communities. It may be true, but should those tools be somewhat cumbersome it would not be idle work to try them and to see how they could be adapted to the needs of every nation. They are indeed up to the present day, the only actual check on the "politician." Better, a thousand times, embarrassing contrivances than polluted governments, where honest citizens have no means of resistance nor of changing the course of things.

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University of Geneva, May, 1895.

THE SOCIAL BASIS OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

It must not be thought that by the advocacy of any one political reform—as that of proportional representation—one means to assert that the adoption of that reform measure would cure the ills of our political society. Society is too complex for that; but as society changes under the influence of changing times, it behooves us to see that it grows better instead of worse. Hence, we are bound to advocate any and every reform that will do good. Now a system of proportional representation, *i. e.*, a system by which each political party would secure representation in proportion to its numbers, while it would not remove all our political troubles, would still do much good.

The study of politics rests largely upon careful observation and knowledge of human motives. The most successful statesman is he who applies this knowledge best.

To be practical in the discussion of social questions, if one looks for immediate results by the way of political action, one must assume that human motives, in the main, are practically unchanging. To-day men act from the same motives as fifty years ago; after fifty years have passed their motives will remain still the same, though there will often be changes in the manifestation of these motives. Great reformers like Buddha or Christ, it may be, can put the leaven of a new life into the world and look for the results to a change of men's natures in forthcoming centuries. But it is not practical for political reformers seeking immediate results to trust to a remodeling of human nature. The problem that confronts them is how to organize the political forces of to-day so as to make the present social motives benefit society. "No man can escape the spirit of the age,

or do much good except as its servant, but he can be its intelligent servant and not its slave."

The motives which at present affect political action in ordinary times are practically, as a whole, egoistic, despite many individual exceptions. In times of national danger, nearly all men become patriotic and are willing to sacrifice themselves for the good of the state. But in times of peace men's motives in their political action are practically the same as those that influence their business action. When their own personal interests are not clearly at stake, and this is possibly true in the majority of cases, they are likely to vote from habit, or from a partially unconscious desire to please those whom they meet in social life. It is less trouble for them to do so, and so their self-interest directs. The men who carefully think out the issues of the day before each election and vote accordingly for the good of the state are few.

By the state we mean, speaking broadly, society organized to rule itself, by force, if need be. In this respect the State differs from other social organizations, as the Church. All government implies rule by force, and the circumstances of life make it evident that the rulers of society must be few. Every person enjoys directing others; no one likes to be dominated. In consequence, there is always a conflict for the ruling place between different individuals and different classes made up of those with common interests in society, and the strongest win. The source of strength is sometimes, as in the rude tribes of an early stage of society, physical. The man with the greatest brute strength and skill becomes the ruler. Craft also in early societies is a prominent source of strength, and determines the ruler. Often in undeveloped societies the man whose cunning enables him to play best upon the superstitious fears of his fellows, upon their untrained religious instincts, in this way proves himself the strongest and becomes, as priest, the ruler. Or the same priestly power may rule without

deception by making use of the same motives in human nature. Ordinarily as industrial society develops, the power of arms goes with accumulations of capital, and the wealthy make themselves the rulers, and direct the state in their own interests. In modern democracies, in theory, it is assumed that the majority rules. There is no longer, in theory, a contest for the ruling place between the wealthy and the poor, the strong and the weak; but there is in theory a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and we forget that a ruling majority implies a ruled minority.

As a matter of fact, however, in our modern democracies it is ordinarily not the majority which rules, whatever our terminology may imply; but our democratic systems give us still a ruling minority determining the actions of the majority. Our political managers assume that voters ordinarily seek their own interests. They seek to build up their parties on the principle of the Greek statesman, who asserted that political parties might be based upon either principles or interests, but that it was much safer to found them upon interests. Yet the political managers themselves when in power, acting for themselves and for their parties, and betraying the interests of the majority, have so arranged our political machinery that it invariably gives unfair power to one political party at the expense of the other. Under our plurality system of election in representative districts, and, especially through the influence of the gerrymander, we reach results that are far from just.

The Republican party, whose congressional representation passed the McKinley bill, cast less than a majority of the popular vote. The Democratic party, with its overwhelming majority in the House of Representatives to pass the Wilson bill, still failed to give a majority of the votes cast to the Democrats.

With 47.2 per cent only of the popular vote they secured 59.8 per cent of the Representatives; whereas the Republicans, with 41.9 per cent of the total vote, secured only 36.8

per cent of the Representatives. The 8.7 per cent of the Populists obtained 3.4 per cent of the representation, while the Prohibitionists' 2 per cent secured nothing. The last election in the fall of 1894, that may be considered even more of a tidal wave than that of 1892, was still not great enough to give the winning party a majority of the popular votes cast. The Republicans with 48.1 per cent only of the total vote secured 68.8 per cent of the Representatives, while the Democrats with 31.1 per cent of the vote have secured 29.2 per cent of the Representatives; the 12 per cent of the Populists has obtained 2 per cent of the Representatives, while the 1.6 per cent of the Prohibitionists secured nothing.

The House whose term has just expired numbered 131 Republican Congressmen, 213 Democratic Congressmen and 12 Populist Congressmen. A fair representation by the numbers of the votes cast would have given to the Republicans 147 Representatives, to the Democrats 168, to the Populists 31, to the Prohibitionists 8. The House elected to meet next December contains 245 Republicans, 104 Democrats, and 7 Populists. A division in proportion to the popular vote would give to the Republicans 171 members, to the Democrats 136, to the Populists 43, to the Prohibitionists 6.

Gerrymanders in the different States give us results no less striking. The State of New York in the incoming Congress will have 29 Republican and 5 Democratic members. A proportional division of the popular vote would give to the Republicans 19, to the Democrats 14, to the Populists 1. The overwhelming Republican vote in Michigan, that gave to the Republicans 12 members of Congress, to the Democrats none, and that in the State Legislature has given both Houses to the Republicans with the exception of one lone Democrat in the lower House, obtained in some way an unfair advantage. A proportional representation of the Congressmen would have given the Republicans 7, the Democrats 4, the Populists 1. So, too, Pennsylvania, with its 28

Republican and 2 Democratic Congressmen, should divide its congressional representation so as to give the Republicans 18, the Democrats 11, the Prohibitionists 1.

The real representation, however, is still further from the proportion laid down in our political theories than these figures would seem to imply. No one pretends that if there is any conflict of interest the majority is to take into account in any way the interests of the minority. If a party carries a State by but an even vote plus one, the minority, large as it is, is entirely disregarded on all questions affecting party. Laws passed under caucus action may often be carried by those who represent little over one-quarter of the voters, or even less than that.

But the conflict between the social and industrial classes for this ruling power appears in still another way. Not merely is it true that where there are more than two political parties often a comparatively small minority of the whole people may receive the total representation and direct the power of the government against the wishes of the majority; but it is still further true that this minority is generally made up of the same classes in the population, or of those who represent the interests of certain classes. Ordinarily the wealthy secure the representation, either directly or indirectly. In many cases the cost of nominations and elections is so great that only well-to-do or wealthy men can stand as candidates; this is especially true in England. If poor men will for any reason in the minds of the politicians make better candidates, they still of necessity fall under obligations to the rich for furnishing the means to carry the elections. Men who have been long in political life as professional politicians naturally secure their nominations and elections by serving their party, and party managers know that it is largely to the well-to-do and the wealthy that they must look for their campaign funds and for their campaign influence. Votes are secured, not merely at times by buying up the votes of the poor, but

more frequently still by raising false issues that the ignorant cannot see and by leading them to believe that they are serving their own interests when they are, in fact, serving the interests of their masters, the wealthy minority. Legislation in most civilized countries for centuries past has shown that in the main it is the rich that have ruled, and that they have ruled in their own interests though this is probably less true here than elsewhere. Even when the rich or their representatives are conscientiously trying to do their duty by society as a whole, it is practically impossible for them so to act. No man can see the interests of others, especially of those far removed from him in social situation, so well as he can see his own interests, and those of his class.

In spite of the large amount of labor legislation passed within the last few years, one may still cite the tax system of the United States Government, the tax systems of many of our States, as they in practice work, for the personal property tax is regularly evaded, and the legislation favorable to great corporations, as proofs of the assertions made.

Frank men who have been influential in legislation do not hesitate to say that the intelligent have always hoodwinked the ignorant, and always will do so. Even when, as of late in New York City, the government was made up apparently of the ignorant and perhaps of those who could not be called the wealthy classes in the community, the same selfish motive led the wealthy corporations to buy their legislation and immunity from plunder from the local government, and thus still to make it true that the government was in the interests and managed in the interests of the wealthy as against the poor.

It little becomes any of us, too, to single out New York for especial attack. In Philadelphia it is said by one of Philadelphia's citizens that even at the present day in the City Council one may see the "lobbyist of a great corporation openly directing the course of legislation, and all amendments in the interest of the public voted down without

serious consideration. That city is in a dangerous state whose ports and strongholds are in the hands of forces alien to her interests."

And yet this perversion of the simplest principles of democratic government does not arouse the indignation that we should expect from most of our citizens. Many of them, and those the best, fear the rule of the majority. They speak of popular government, but they really wish to exclude, sometimes the foreign vote, always the ignorant, and what amounts to practically the same thing in many cases, the vote of the poor. If this can not be excluded so as to give us legally the rule of a comparatively speaking small number of the well-to-do and intelligent, they are willing to wink at the deceits practiced to deprive the more ignorant classes of their real voluntary representation. If one may judge, however, from the signs of the times, from the increasing power of organization shown by the poor, and the rapidity with which they are coming into prominence as political factors, one may expect to see in a comparatively short time the real rule of the majority.

Can we trust this majority when it comes into power, or does their rule mean, as so many fear, the plunder of the wealthy and the rule of injustice? The question is a fundamental one. It means, Is democracy possible? If negatived, we must either, under a pretended democratic form of government, continue the rule of an oligarchy, or we must expect a social revolution that will lead us, we know not whither. Can we trust the real majority?

It is beyond question true that the average voter is incompetent to settle many of the complicated questions of government that arise to-day. The discussions over the banking system, the tariff, foreign loans, etc., show that even our best-informed, most intelligent citizens, have more than they can do to agree upon a safe and beneficial policy. If they fail to agree, or if they fail even to unite into parties with distinct opinions on such subjects, what can we expect

of the more ignorant majority? Mr. Gladstone well said, in arguing against Mr. Lowe for the extension of the suffrage: "It is written in legible characters with a pen of iron upon the rock of human destiny that within the domain of practical politics the people must, in the main, be passive." "Never can the average man be reasonably called upon to think out measures for himself, in all their baffling detail." But they may still perhaps be able to choose wisely some one to do their work for them. All business men employ experts—lawyers, chemists, physicians. Why not employ trained statesmen?

What are the essential qualifications for citizenship in a democracy? There is needed in the first place as Mr. Maccunn has said, "A sense of the prime importance of permanent elements of national well-being," such as personal security, property, reputation, free speech, toleration, education, decency of life, national honor. This does not require much intelligence, and this sense most men, even the ignorant ones, have. Again the average citizen needs a public spirit that will lead him to prefer the interests of the state, of the many, to his own. This qualification is one that certainly cannot be expected in ordinary times of any great class of citizens, but it is a spirit that we shall probably find as common in the ignorant and poorer classes as among the wealthy and educated. Those who work most among the poor are often touched by the unselfish readiness with which they give the little that they have to those still more in need. And, as regards their actions in political matters, there can be no better witness than Mr. Gladstone, who says: "A long experience impresses me with the belief that this evil temper (that of selfishness) does not grow in intensity as we move downward in society from class to class. I rather believe that if a distinction is to be made it must be drawn in favor of, and not against, the classes, if such they must be called, which are lower, larger, less opulent, and, after allowing for trades unions, less organized."

If the average voter has these two qualifications as well as have the rich and intelligent, we may trust him to elect a representative that will serve his interests and those of society best, when, and if, the choice is placed fairly before him in such a way that he can recognize his own interests.

We must trust each class in society to look out chiefly for itself and its own. The strong ought to consider the weak, it may be true, but they will not, and, more than that, cannot. And still further, it is much better, so far as it is possible, for the weaker and more ignorant to look out for themselves. There is no better training in citizenship than the self-reliance that must come from putting the interests of each class into its own hands. We must in some way so modify our political machinery that all social and industrial classes shall get a fair representation in our legislative bodies, and that fair representation can be best secured by so arranging our political machinery that each class shall cast votes in proportion to its numbers, with the conscious knowledge that it is voting as a class and for its own class interests.

We must keep it in mind that we are seeking not a temporary good, but a permanent policy. The needs of the times, the needs of different classes are continually shifting, and the measures to be advocated are ever new ones. We must expect that in the effort to meet so complex needs, many mistakes will be made; but only the acts that tend toward the improvement of society will long remain in force. We need in office the men who most clearly see the needs of the day and of the future. Presumably each will see, or at any rate feel—and this feeling is of vital consequence—the needs of his own class best. For the good of the state the classes must patriotically compromise.

It may be said in opposition to this that the purpose of the state is to secure the good of society and that the recognition of different classes in society, and the putting of them

in conflict one with the other, will wreck the state instead of furthering its purposes.

The purpose of the state is to further the highest good of all (not necessarily the greatest good of the greatest number); and there can be no question that there are different classes in society, whether we will have it so or not, and that they are more or less in conflict. There is no doubt that these classes differ in intelligence, in wealth, in ability, in capacity for enjoyment, in needs. If we attempt to give them all the same gratification, the highest good of all will not be secured. The classes—if, indeed, we can separate society into classes on this basis,—with the greatest intellectual capacity need more to satisfy their wants and for the sake of society should have more than the ignorant classes. The classes with the most refined tastes need more and, for the sake of society, should have more; though all classes and all individuals ought to have a chance to show whether they have these higher powers and tastes. But it is beyond question true that the most intelligent have also more power, and that if they but exert themselves they each will cast more votes than one—their own and those whom they persuade by fair means to act with them. I am not entirely sure that from the standpoint of abstract political justice, if by that we mean the methods by which the good of the state can best be accomplished, we should not give to the intelligent and cultured greater direct voting power than is given to the ignorant, as is the case in Belgium. But so far as our own country is concerned, that is beyond question impossible and undesirable, and we should rather trust to the persuasive power of the intelligent to secure these double votes by showing the less intelligent that their real interests lie in many ways in uniting themselves with the more intelligent.

Classes in society we have and must have, but the classification need not always be the same as it now is. If by our political organization we make it easy for each group in society to organize itself and to cast its vote effectively, new

groupings will take place. At present our political parties are not sharply divided. Our political leaders, to hold them together, are raising false issues, and no man knows where his interests lie. If we make it evident to each class in society where its interests are, we are likely to have, in a comparatively short time in the future, less of a conflict between the rich and the poor than now, but more a strife of the different industrial interests one against the other,—the agriculturalists seeking their advantage as against the manufacturers, the merchants theirs as against the transportation companies—and employer and workman may often find it to their advantage to contend together against other industrial classes rather than against one another. But, however this may be, each class will feel that it is justly treated, and can act openly for its interests as it sees them. Thus the industrial interests of all will be furthered.

Mr. Bryce makes a classification of the American people that is very suggestive in this connection, though we should not expect to see political parties grouped altogether in the same way. His groups are substantially as follows: (1) farmers; (2) shopkeepers and small manufacturers; (3) workingmen; (4) ignorant poor and tramps; (5) capitalists; (6) professional men (lawyers, physicians, preachers); (7) men of letters (including teachers).

The methods that have been proposed to secure this proportional representation are various. One method has been proved by experience in Switzerland to be entirely practicable, and this is the method formally approved by the American Proportional Representation League. In broad outlines the system is as follows: Any number of persons may associate themselves together into a political party for the nomination of officers. If they can secure the requisite number of signatures to make their nominations, the state will print their tickets at its own expense. The candidates are elected, not in separate districts, but in groups on a general ticket, each party nominating if it wishes to do so as

many candidates as there are places to be filled. The total list vote cast divided by the number of candidates to be elected will give the number that is fairly entitled to a candidate. The votes are first counted for the political parties, and to each political party are then assigned candidates in proportion to the votes that it has cast. It having thus been ascertained how many candidates shall be given to each party, within the parties themselves the candidates are selected by taking those in each party that have received the highest number of votes. For example, if ten candidates are to be selected and ten thousand party votes were cast, divided so that one party received 4000 votes, the second 3000, the third 2000, and the fourth 1000, the candidates elected would be four from the first party, three from the second, two from the third, and one from the fourth; whereas under our present system of election on general tickets all ten candidates would be selected by the first party, casting 4000 votes.

This system in its main lines has been shown, as has been said, to be practicable and simple. Four cantons of Switzerland have already accepted it. It is under discussion in two or three more, and some of the largest cities like Berne have introduced the system in their municipal elections.

The objections to the system, of course, are many.

1. Our political theorists frequently say that this will give us a system of class government, and that no democracy should recognize classes, that democracy implies equality and fraternity. However this may be from the standpoint of sentiment, in fact we do have classes whose interests are more or less antagonistic, and the harmony of interests can doubtless be best secured not by closing our eyes to the facts and attempting to let the stronger class, whether in the majority or the minority, hoodwink the weaker, but rather by openly recognizing facts and, by a fair system of representation, placing each class in a position to show clearly to

the people what its interests are, and what compromise will do most good to the state.

2. It is urged that under this system any group of fanatics could secure representation in our legislative bodies and thereby waste the time and energy of the legislators in promoting impracticable schemes. It is doubtless true that our reformers, many of whom are fanatical, would under this system secure representation. But it is also true that most of our fanatical reformers are high-minded, conscientious men, disposed to act unselfishly for what they believe to be good. Possibly the tone of our legislatures would not be lowered by the advocacy, at times, of even really unpractical schemes on moral grounds. The time so employed would probably be well spent. At any rate, whether well spent or not, if enough fanatics unite upon any one subject to secure a representative in our legislature, they certainly have a right to demand to be heard. And there are few public movements that secure the support of a group of our citizens so large as that, which have not suggestions to make that, while they may not be adopted in full, will yet be of use in modifying our legislation. We must not forget that the greatest political reforms have been led by those who were at first considered fanatics.

3. From the practical side it is often urged that this system would deprive us of any majority parties on which we could lay the responsibility for legislation passed, and that, further, our legislation would then have to be the result of compromise and bargain between different minority parties, and that it would often be true that a small party could hold the balance of power and either block legislation or force dishonorable trades. It would probably not be a serious misfortune to the state if legislation, instead of being forced through under the party whip, often at the dictation of one party leader, should have to be the result of compromise between different parties with conflicting interests. It would probably not be a misfortune to the state if many

measures now forced through under caucus action or secretly should fail entirely. It doubtless would be true that at times a small party holding the balance of power would be able to make trades with others in order to secure the passage of its own favorite measures. It would, however, be true that bargains of that kind could not well be secretly made, with many parties watching, and at any rate it would probably occur not much more often than now. Still, some trouble of this kind has been felt in Switzerland. However, the experience in Switzerland has shown that there is no serious danger of a very great multiplication of parties. It is certainly ordinarily true that not more than from six to ten candidates will be elected on one ticket, and in consequence there would certainly be no party that would represent less than ten per cent of the voters. Fifteen per cent in Neuchâtel must be secured to get any member.

It may be permitted, too, to mention briefly some of the direct benefits flowing from the proportional system.

As representatives are elected in groups, a change in public opinion regarding party policy, while lessening the number of representatives of that party would still leave in public life the strongest men. We could thence secure longer tenure of office, in the main, with a higher type of men.

The certainty of success in securing at least one candidate if the effort were made, would encourage men of independent tendencies to take a more active part in directing the policy of their party. Unless they were granted a hearing and representation within the party, they could secure success by bolting. Instead of producing weakness in our parties, this would probably prove a source of strength, party leaders being more conciliatory. This breaking of the tyrannical power of the party machine and the certainty of personal representation has shown itself in Switzerland by an increase in the number of votes cast, showing greater interest in political matters. The increased power of the

individual leads to more careful study of the issues of the day—hence to sounder political judgment.

Our best men are often deterred from entering politics now, because they are unwilling to submit to the dictation of party leaders, or to put themselves under obligations to these leaders. Under the proportional system this would not be necessary, and better candidates could often be persuaded to run for office. The gerrymander would be abolished, as Professor Commons showed in the *ANNALS*.*

No mere repressive law against corruption of the voters can be so effective as one that takes away motives for bribery. No other plan has been devised that renders bribery so useless to both briber and voter as does this. The party leader knowing ordinarily that he cannot, by any amount of bribery, secure a working majority but only a few additional votes, will not incur the trouble, expense, and risk of bribery; while the voter, seeing more clearly his own interest in the election, is unwilling to sell his vote. A large proportion of our vote-sellers have no knowledge regarding the political issues of the day nor interest in them. Their vote is a source of revenue, and they look little farther. With parties formed on class lines and the voter feeling the issue at stake, the vote would not be for sale. Even now when the issue is clear and important, as in war days, votes are not for sale. Proportional representation would regularly and clearly define the issues and give every voter an interest in them.

If the system were to be adopted in our country it would beyond question be wise to introduce it at first in local elections. The unsolved problem of our city boards of aldermen might well be attacked by this system. The interests of those wishing good schools, or clean streets, or strict enforcement of excise laws, as well as of those wishing for open saloons, free franchises for street railways, or blackmail by the police, could then be represented by at

* "Proportional Representation," *ANNALS*, Vol. ii, March, 1892.

least one or two voices; and it is but fair that each class—the ones that most of us call bad as well as the good—should be heard.

Finally, proportional representation is the only system that is in accord with our democratic institutions. Under our present plurality system we have in fact an oligarchy. Democracy with manhood suffrage does not mean a government by the rich, or the shrewd, or the intelligent, or even the moral classes. It is a government by the people as they are—rich, poor, educated, ignorant, prejudiced, fair-minded. It may not be the best form of government for us, though I believe that it is; but at any rate it is the form that we pretend to have, and we ought at least either to carry it out, or else openly to change it for a better.

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THE CUSTODY OF STATE FUNDS.*

In general two methods have been employed by the United States Government in keeping the public money. The one is known as the "bank depository system," the other as "the independent treasury system." Under the former system the public money is deposited in, and the fiscal operations of the government are conducted through, a bank or banks. Under the latter system there is, in theory, no connection with banks. Since 1846 the government money has been deposited mainly in the treasury and sub-treasury vaults under the provisions of the Independent Treasury Law. This system was slightly modified in 1863 by the law which established our national banking system. By the provisions of this act those national banks so designated might, under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, be considered United States depositories, with power to receive and disburse all government moneys except customs. Thus we have in the United States to-day a combination of the "independent treasury" and the "bank depository" system.

Mr. Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury from 1857 to 1860, and an ardent supporter of the independent treasury system, recommended in his report for 1858 and 1859 that each of the States adopt this system. Professor Kinley,

*The material for this paper the writer collected during the year 1894, while preparing for what is called the Joint Debate, at the University of Wisconsin. The facts and figures here set forth were obtained mainly through personal correspondence and from the annual reports of the State Treasurers of the several States. The material collected has been arranged in tabular form and is added to this paper as an appendix.

I am indebted to the State Treasurers of the several States, for valuable material furnished, but regret that in several instances repeated solicitation has not yet enabled me to secure the desired information. I am also especially indebted to Dr. R. T. Ely for helpful criticisms.

in referring to this in his work on "The Independent Treasury," says: "Ohio seems to have been the only State that seriously contemplated doing so, but the act to separate the State finances from the banks after passing the House was voted down in the State Senate." A careful investigation, however, shows that this statement is incorrect; we find that seven of our States are to-day employing this very system. The laws of Ohio, California, Kansas, Mississippi, Nevada, Texas, and Indiana require that all State moneys shall be kept in the vaults of the Treasury Department.

There can be little doubt that these State independent treasury laws have been modeled after our national system, and it is not at all to be wondered at, that during the vicissitudes of "wild cat" banking the States should have adopted what was then the safest method of keeping the public money. It is strange, however, that to-day in the face of the experience of forty other States and Territories these few still persist in maintaining so antiquated a system of public finance.

The experience of those forty States and Territories shows conclusively, I believe, the superiority of the "bank depositary system." For the last twenty years it has been used with almost absolute security to the public funds. There has in that time, as accurately as I have been able to determine, been lost to the States through this system only \$36,915.19. In 1892 Massachusetts lost \$109.75. During the last forty years New Jersey has lost \$19,204.35. In the seventies West Virginia lost \$16,601.07. True, there is at present about \$416,000 of State money tied up in failed banks, due to the crises of 1890 and 1893, but a very small percentage of this money will ultimately prove a loss, the States being fully secured by personal and other bonds. It is a significant fact that in every case where a loss has occurred by depositing the State money in banks, no security has been required from the depositories other than that given to ordinary depositors.

The laws of the several States provide for various methods of securing the public money. The laws of Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, South Carolina, Vermont, Wyoming, and Utah provide only for the security given to ordinary depositors. In certain of these States, as in Massachusetts, the amount of money deposited in any one bank is limited to forty per cent of the capital stock. The laws of Arizona, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Washington hold the State Treasurer responsible for the safety of the deposits, and he may require additional security from depository banks at his option. The laws of Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, New Mexico, North Carolina (State banks), West Virginia, New York and Wisconsin require State depositories to give bond or bonds in double the amount of the State deposits. In certain of these States the security consists of personal security, prior lien on the assets of the bank, a deposit of collaterals, or a combination of two of them. It is enough to know that each of these methods has proved an effectual means of securing the State moneys against losses from bank failures.

Under the depository system the daily balances, in many of the States, are a source of revenue to the State; the depository banks paying a low rate of interest on daily or monthly balances. This rate varies in different States from one and one-half per cent to four per cent. The revenue from this source during the last year must have exceeded four hundred thousand dollars. In Louisiana the depository banks pay the State a bonus of \$10,000 for the use of the State money. The State Treasurer of Delaware is required to deposit the State money in the "Farmers' Bank" and its branches, in which the State owns three-fifths of the stock and the legislature elects nine of the directors. No interest is paid on such deposits. The bank depositories

of Iowa, Montana, New Jersey, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Tennessee pay no interest on the public deposits. The average combined surplus in these States amounts to over six millions of dollars. These States lose over \$180,000 per annum by not requiring interest on these balances. The depository banks undoubtedly secure the remuneration which should accrue to the States.

The laws governing the selection of depository banks also differ in the several States. In some States, Delaware for example, the banks are designated by law. In other States, as in Florida, the banks bid for the money. The banks offering the highest rate of interest are designated as public depositories. In Georgia the deposit of State money is limited by law to banks located in certain cities. But in a majority of the States, banks are designated as depositories of the public money at the option of the State Treasurer, with or without the concurrence of a State Financial Board. In West Virginia the State Board of Public Works designates the State depositories.

The most striking feature of the "bank depository" system is its lack of uniformity. Yet in spite of this it has given almost universal satisfaction. The money has been kept by the banks with nearly perfect safety. Except in several States (Iowa, Montana, Tennessee, and South Carolina) for a short time during the panic of 1893 the banks have never found any difficulty in meeting the drafts of the State Treasurer. The regulations governing the State moneys in the several States are undoubtedly, as a whole, well adapted to the needs of the commonwealth in which they are in operation. But that greater losses have not occurred in some States having loose depository laws, has been due rather to the excellency of our national banking system than to the merits of such depository laws.

In order to secure the perfect safety of the public money the banks designated as State depositories should be required to furnish approved security in the shape of national, State,

or municipal bonds, or collaterals equal to double the amount of the State money held. Further, there seems to be no reason why the banks should not be required to pay to the State a low rate of interest on daily or monthly balances, nor why the State money should not at all times be subject to the draft of the State Treasurer. The former will secure to the State a nearly constant revenue, and the latter insures at all times the prompt payment of the State money.

This method of keeping the State money facilitates the collection and payment of the public revenue. In some States the depository banks disburse and collect the State moneys free of charge, and in all cases they use the money to enlarge their discounts. As stated above, the banks have found but little difficulty in meeting the drafts of the Treasurer on demand. Mr. Samuel M. Tate, of North Carolina, says that the banks having had the deposits of the State regularly for several years become acquainted with the needs of the department, and use the deposits to enlarge their discounts, maturing the same at such a time as to be in readiness to meet the Treasurer's checks. This is found to be the experience of most of the State Treasury Departments. The policy pursued by the State of Tennessee, where it has been the custom to leave in the county, where there is a depository, the revenue collected from that county, until actually needed by the State, seems eminently practical and advisable. Mr. E. B. Craig, the present Treasurer of that State, says he considers this a safe method of keeping the funds of the State, and certainly believes it to be beneficial to the people.

Such in brief has been the operation of our State bank depository system. Now let us examine the operation of the State independent treasury system. The seven States employing this system have in their vaults on an average a combined surplus of from four to nine millions of dollars. In Texas the surplus varies from almost nothing to three-fourths of a million dollars; in California the surplus varied

during eighteen months, from January 1, 1891, to June 3, 1892, from \$2,319,931 to \$5,167,020; in Kansas the average surplus is about \$400,000; the balance in the treasury vaults of Mississippi averages about \$400,000; the treasury surplus in Nevada averages about \$500,000; in Ohio it averages nearly \$800,000, and in Indiana it is nearly \$400,000.

Mr. W. B. Wortham, State Treasurer of Texas, says that a proposition was made in the last legislature to establish State depositories (national bank), but it was overwhelmingly defeated. He says further that the disbursements of their treasury are not irregular and therefore have no injurious effect on business.

Mr. J. R. McDonald, State Treasurer of California, in his report for 1892 says: "I have never been able to see the necessity or propriety of the State having two or three million dollars piled up in her vaults year after year, without any benefit to the State and positive detriment to the people; for the withdrawal of this large sum of money from circulation must tend to create a stringency in the money market and to that extent cripple the business interests of the State as well as enhance the price of money to the borrower." If this surplus were deposited in banks the rate of interest would not only be rendered more uniform thereby and the market made easier, but at the rate of three per cent there would have accrued to the State from that source alone a revenue of over \$75,000 per annum, without the slightest detriment to the public service.

In Kansas the State moneys have always been kept in the treasury vaults. Mr. W. H. Biddle, the State Treasurer, says that occasional bills have been introduced into the Legislature to provide for bank depositories, but have invariably been defeated, there being no pronounced sentiment against this system of "bolts and bars." He further says, "I do not consider our system of keeping funds in vaults better than State depositories since it keeps a large amount of money out of circulation." This system has been

condemned by treasury authorities in the State of Mississippi, but no pronounced sentiment has been directed against it. Mr. G. W. Richards, the State Treasurer of Nevada, states that there has never been any move in the direction of depositing the State money in banks, but he gives it as his opinion that the public funds should be so handled that some revenue may result.

Mr. William T. Cope, State Treasurer of Ohio, says: "The average balance in the treasury will probably be above one-half a million dollars for many years to come. The keeping out of circulation so large a sum of money, together with the large amounts locked up twice each year by the county treasurers have the effect to derange business and make the rates of interest to those borrowing money higher. I believe that a law authorizing State and county depositories would be a great benefit to the people of the State, and that the State itself would be benefited financially to an amount sufficient to pay all the expenses of the Treasurer of State's department."

Indiana keeps the public money in vaults by the silent acquiescence of the people. Kentucky had a similar system up to 1891, when H. S. Hale became State Treasurer. An old banker himself, he made a strenuous effort to have the treasury balance kept where it would be earning a revenue for the State. During the two years of his office up to 1893, the balance was deposited in banks, netting the public over \$26,000 in interest. In 1893 the Territory of New Mexico passed a depository law, "to which, with some slight amendments," says Treasurer Palen, "there can be little objection." The law requires no additional security from depository banks, and it is to this feature he objects. Bonds or collaterals should be required.

We see, then, that although at one time a considerable number of the States and Territories enacted laws modeled after our national independent treasury system, to-day only seven retain this system, and in these seven States we find

that a pronounced sentiment is springing up against the system.

To a lesser degree the State independent treasury laws have all the evils of our national system. The irregularity in receipts and disbursements has been recognized as injuriously affecting business. The money withdrawn from circulation causes a rise in the rate of interest, creates a stringency in the money market, and this stringency occurs at the worst time in the year being directly after the collection of taxes. The common sense policy would be to return this money into circulation as soon as possible. But under the "vault system" it is not returned except in the ordinary course of the State expenditures. I find that in the majority of the States the surplus is greatest in the months of January, March, April, and May. Thus the money is drawn from circulation just when money is needed for the spring demand.

The accumulating of so much currency in the vaults of the State treasurers is attended with more or less danger from bank robbers and burglars. Several robberies of that nature have occurred of late years in California. The treasury of that State with its four or five millions of dollars is constantly under a special guard, and last winter this guard was largely increased after the annual payment of taxes. On account of this danger the treasurers have great difficulty in securing good bondsmen. These evils, the direct outcome of the vault system, may be easily avoided by depositing the State and county funds in banks.

The State will have no difficulty in finding banks ready and willing to take the State moneys, giving ample security in the shape of bonds and collaterals, and paying interest at the rate of two or three per cent per annum. The State Treasurer of New York says that the banks are eager to secure the public deposits, paying from one and one-half per cent to three per cent on daily balances, and holding them constantly subject to the demand of the treasurer.

The facts herein presented go to substantiate the conclusions drawn by Professor David Kinley in his work on "The Independent Treasury;" that the system has been outgrown in this country; that there is no necessity for it, and that there is no good reason for its longer continuance. On the other hand we find many reasons for discontinuing such a system. In our own States we find the two systems working side by side. The independent treasury is the object of severe criticism. The bank depository system meets with nearly universal approval, and there seems to be little question that it should be substituted for the independent treasury in every State where that system exists.

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APPENDIX.

STATE.	Average Balance.	Where Kept.	Rate of Interest.	Security.
Arizona		Banks		Treasurer gives bond for the territory in an amount fixed by law.
Arkansas	\$400,000 to \$500,000.			
California	\$5,167,020 to \$2,319,931.	Treasury vaults		Bolts and bars. Special police guard.
Colorado	\$600,000.	Banks	4 per cent, payable quarterly.	Banks give independent bond.
Connecticut	\$400,000 to \$700,000.	Banks	3 per cent .	Same as for ordinary depositors.
Delaware		Farmers' Bank and branches.	None . . .	None
Florida	\$150,000.	Banks	2½ per cent	National, State, county or municipal bonds.
Georgia		Banks		Prior lien on assets of bank and bond.
Idaho		Banks		None
Indiana	\$400,000.	Treasury vaults		
Iowa	\$200,000 to \$300,000.	Banks in Des Moines.	None . . .	Bonds to double the amount of deposits.
Kansas	\$500,000	Treasury vaults		
Kentucky	\$200,000 to \$500,000.	Banks		Bond with personal security.
Louisiana		Two banks in Baton Rouge and New Orleans.	\$10,000 bonus.	None
Maine	\$150,000 to \$400,000.	Banks in the State and Boston, Mass.	2 per cent from Boston banks. Nothing from banks in State.	No special security.
Maryland	\$400,000.	Three national banks.	2 per cent.	\$500,000 bonds .

APPENDIX.

Depositories. How Chosen.	Losses.	When Surplus is Largest.	To Whom Interest Accrues.	Difficulties ex- perienced by Banks in Meeting the Treasurer's Drafts.
By Treasurer .	None . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	None.
Fixed by law .	. . . . .	After tax collec- tions.		
By Treasurer .	None	After tax collec- tions.		
By Treasurer .	None	December . . .	State	None.
Fixed by law .	None . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	None.
Banks offering highest rate of interest.	None	April	State	None.
Cities fixed by law. Banks designated by the Governor.	None . . . .	. . . . .	State	None.
.	None.			
Fixed by law .	None.			
By Treasurer .	None	April, May and October.	. . . . .	None.
Fixed by law .				
By Treasurer .	None	November 1 to March 1.	State	None.
.	None . . . .	. . . . .	State	
By Treasurer .	None	January 1 and July 1.	State	None.
By Treasurer, approved by Governor.	None	June 1	State	None.

APPENDIX.—*Continued.*

STATE.	Average Balance.	Where Kept.	Rate of Interest.	Security.
Massachusetts .	Varies widely. \$5,000,000 to \$10,000,000.	Banks or Trust Companies.	2 to 2½ per cent.	Deposits not to exceed 40 per cent of capital stock.
Michigan	\$600,000.	Banks	3 per cent.	Nominal bond .
Minnesota . . .	\$2,100,000.	Banks	3 per cent on daily balances.	Bond equal to 200 per cent of deposits.
Mississippi . . .	\$50,000 to \$400,000.	Treasury vaults . . . . .	.....	.....
Missouri	\$200,000 to \$2,000,000.	Banks	Current rate.	Bond equal to 25 per cent of money deposited, and U. S., Missouri or St. Louis Bonds equal to amount of deposits.
Montana	\$193,544.	Banks	None . . .	Collaterals and bonds.
Nebraska	\$627,000	Banks	3 per cent.	None
Nevada	\$100,000 to \$750,000.	Treasury vaults . . . . .	.....	.....
New Hampshire	\$300,000 to \$400,000.	Banks	2 per cent on deposits in Boston banks.	No special security.
New Jersey . . .	Little, except at close of fiscal year.	Banks	None . . .	None
New Mexico . . .	\$175,000.	Banks	3 per cent.	Bonds to double amount of deposits.
New York	\$1,548,669.	Banks	1½ to 3 per cent.	Bond equal to two or three times amount of deposits.

APPENDIX.—Continued.

Depositories. How Chosen.	Losses.	When Surplus is Largest.	To Whom Interest Accrues.	Difficulties ex- perienced by Banks in Meeting the Treasurer's Drafts.
Chartered by State.	\$109.75	December . . .	State	None.
By Treasurer	None	June to No- vember.	State, Gen- eral Fund.	Banks are given from 15 to 30 days' notice and are al- ways prepared
.....	None. \$150,000 tied up, but no danger of loss.	.....	State	Some money tied up.
Fixed by law				
Treasurer, ap- proved by Gov- ernor and At- t'y-General.	None	January 1 to May 1.	State	None.
By Treasurer	None	After tax pay- ment in December.	.....	A short time in 1893.
By Treasurer	\$236,000 tied up.	.....	To the sev- eral State funds.	Some by bank failures.
Fixed by law				
By Treasurer	None	October to January.	State	None.
By Treasurer	In 40 years only \$19,204.35.	November 1 . .	.....	None.
Governor, Audi- tor and Treas- urer.	\$31,000 tied up.	February and August, and January and July.	Territory . .	None.
By Treasurer	None . . . .	.....	State	None.

APPENDIX.—*Continued.*

STATE.	Average Balance.	Where Kept.	Rate of Interest.	Security.
North Carolina .	\$100,000 to \$300,000.	Banks	3 per cent on time deposits.	Collaterals from State banks.
North Dakota .	\$146,817.	Banks	3 per cent.	Option of Treas- urer.
Ohio	\$800,000.	Treasury vaults		
Oregon	\$200,000.	Banks	None	
Pennsylvania .	\$4,000,000 to \$6,000,000.	Banks	None	Bonds
Rhode Island .	Nothing to \$500,000.	Banks	2½ to 3 per cent.	No special se- curity.
South Carolina .	\$100,000.	Banks	None	None
South Dakota .		Banks		By Treasurer . .
Tennessee . . .	\$350,000.	Banks	None	Certified bond deposits lim- ited to 25 per cent of capital.
Texas	Nothing to \$750,000.	Treasury vaults		
Utah	\$50,000 to \$150,000.	Local banks	None	None
Vermont	\$489,655.	Banks		None
Virginia	\$300,000.	Banks	Nominal rate on daily balances.	Personal secur- ity.
Washington . .	\$275,890.	Banks		Option of Treas- urer.
West Virginia .	\$723,567.	Banks	3 per cent.	Deposits not to exceed three- quarters of bond. Bond not less than \$50,000.
Wisconsin . . .	\$600,000 to \$800,000.	Banks	2½ per cent. Fixed by board of deposits.	Sufficient bond .
Wyoming . . .	\$150,000.	Banks		None

APPENDIX.—Continued.

Depositories. How Chosen.	Losses.	When Surplus is Largest.	To Whom Interest Accrues.	Difficulties ex- perienced by Banks in Meeting the Treasurer's Drafts.
By Treasurer .	Some loss. Amount not known.	After tax pay- ments.	State	None.
By Treasurer .	None	January and April, July and October.	General fund.	None.
Fixed by law .				
By Treasurer .	None	July, August and September.	.....	None.
By Treasurer .	None	July and August	.....	None.
		*		
Banks giving highest rate of interest.	None . . . .	.....	State.	None.
State Financial Board.	None since 1876.	December and March.	.....	None, except in panic of 1893.
.....	None			
By Treasurer .	None	March, April and May.	.....	None, except for a short time in 1893.
Fixed by law .				
By Treasurer .	None	December, Jan- uary, February and March.	.....	None.
By Treasurer .	None.			
.....	None . . . .	.....	State.	
By Treasurer .	None	Laws are silent on question of management of State funds.		
By State Board of Public Works.	\$16,601.07 in the seventies.	.....	State	None.
By board of de- posits.	None . . . .	.....	State	None.
.....	None.			

THE PROBLEM OF SOCIOLOGY.

The overthrow of the individualistic point of view may be considered the most important and fruitful step which historical science and the moral sciences (*Geisteswissenschaften*) generally have made in our time. In place of the individual careers which formerly stood in the foreground of our picture of history, we now regard social forces, national movements, as the real and determining factors, out of which the parts which individuals play cannot be evaluated with complete definiteness. The science of human beings has become the science of human society. No object of discussion in the moral sciences can avoid this tendency. Even where movements culminate in the individual, as in the realm of art, we seek the causes in the evolution of the race, from which we have arrived at a perception of the beautiful, and in the particular social condition of the time, which made possible just this or that form of artistic product. In the realm of religion, as in that of economic life; in the realm of morals, as well as in technical progress; in politics, as well as in those things which treat of the health and disease of body and soul, it is equally true that we find a tendency to refer each single fact back to the historical condition, the needs and efforts of the entire society concerned.

Notwithstanding the fact that this tendency in thought is so generally and manifestly present, it can furnish at best only a regulative principle for the moral sciences, and can on that account never constitute an independent science with a place of its own in the group of moral sciences. If sociology really comprehends, as has been supposed, the sum of social facts and the reduction of single events to a

social basis, it is nothing more than a group-name for the totality of the moral sciences as treated in modern times. In this way those empty generalities and abstractions which brought about the ruin of philosophy have found place even in sociology. Like philosophy, it will attempt to force into a purely imaginary or external unity those things which do not belong together, and create a scientific world-empire which must break asunder just as surely as political world-empires have been severed into separate kingdoms. Sociology, as history of society, and of all that it contains, that is in the sense of an explanation of all events in terms of social forces and configurations, is no more an independent science than induction for example. Sociology like induction—only not in so formal a sense—is a method of investigation (*Erkenntnismethode*), a directive principle which can be made fruitful in an endless number of the most different fields of science, without itself being a science.

If sociology then, in place of a mere tendency in method, which has been falsely denoted the science of sociology, is to be a true science, the entire province of social science in its broadest sense must be divided for purposes of investigation, and a sociology, in the narrower sense, be separated out. Psychology furnishes a good basis of comparison for the real way in which this differentiation must take place. The attempt has been made to solve the problems of all sciences in psychology; since only within the realm of consciousness were to be found the objects of perception, it was argued that these latter can only be explained through psychological forces and according to the psychological laws which produced them. In spite of this position, however, psychology is generally differentiated as a science of the functions of the mind, as such, and rightly separated from the special sciences which from particular points of view investigate the particular contents of perceptive knowledge. Psychology deals with the abstraction,—comprehensive or limited to particular departments—of "functions,"

"powers," "norms," or, however it may be designated, with that which bears the same relation to the concrete activities of the mind that law, type, general, bear to particular, or that the form bears to the formed content. Everything that happens is an event in the mind, it is also, from another point of view, an event in society; but just as psychology does not deal with everything conditioned by consciousness, so sociology does not necessarily include everything that belongs in society or that is conditioned by its existence. Psychology, as a science, springs rather from the differentiation of the specifically psychical from its objective material basis, and, sociology likewise, should treat of the specifically social, [the process and forms of socialization] as such, in contrast to the interests and contents which find expression in socialization (*Vergesellschaftung*). These interests and aims form the subject-matter of special—technical or historical—sciences; through the circle of these sciences, sociology traces a new one, which includes and marks off on each the peculiar social powers and elements, the forms of association, as such.

Society, in its broadest sense, is found wherever several individuals enter into reciprocal relations. From a purely ephemeral association for the purpose of a casual promenade, to the complete unity of a family, or a guild of the Middle Ages, one must recognize socialization of the most varying kind and degree. The particular causes and aims, without which socialization never takes place, comprise, to a certain extent, the body, the *material* of the social process. That the result of these causes, and the pursuance of these aims call forth, among the persons concerned, a reciprocal relationship, or a socialization, this is the *form*, in which the content of social organization clothes itself. The entire existence of a special science of society rests upon the isolation of this form by means of scientific abstraction. For it is evident that the same form and the same kind of socialization, can arise in connection with the most varied elements

and take place for the most diverse ends. Socialization, in general, takes place, as well in a religious congregation as in a band of conspirators, in a trust as well as in a school of art, in a public gathering as well as in a family; and we find also certain formal similarities in the special characteristics and development of all such unions. We find, for example, the same forms of authority and subordination, of competition, imitation, opposition, division of labor, in social groups which are the most different possible in their aims and their moral character. We find the formation of a hierarchy, the embodiment of the group-forming principle in symbols, the division in parties, all stages of freedom or restriction of the individual in relation to the group, interaction and stratification of groups themselves, and definite forms of reaction against external influences. This similarity of form and its development, in the case of groups often with the most complete heterogeneity of material conditions reveals forces lying back of these immediate conditions, and suggests the possibility of constituting by abstraction a legitimate realm of investigation, namely, that of socialization as such and the study of its forms. These forms are evolved through contact of individuals, but relatively independent of the basis of such contact, and their sum make up that concrete thing which we designate by the abstraction—society.*

* A common inexactness is that which classifies every ethnological investigation and research in primitive conditions within the province of sociology. We forget in so doing that acts and conditions often appear to belong to society only because our knowledge of them is too inexact to determine the purely individualistic events, which are the real ones. From a great distance, a whole series of personalities and individual acts intermingle, and form for the mental eye a concrete mass, Society—just as one from a great distance does not see the single trees of a forest, but sees only the forest. It is true that ethnology and researches in primitive conditions are of the highest value for the real science of society, that is, for the knowledge of the developed powers, results and conditions which have come through socialization. But, to include such general outlines under the concept of sociology, is to make a faulty distinction between that "society" which is only a collective name arising from our inability to treat singly the separate phenomena, and that society which determines such phenomena through specific social forces. We often designate purely parallel phenomena, in a mass, as social, and confuse statistical similarities and synchronisms

It is true that content and social form are in reality mixed in each particular historical event; there is no social constitution or development which is merely social and not, at the same time, a constitution or development of a content. This content may be of an objective kind, the production of a work, the progress of the mechanical arts, the domination of an idea, the success or failure of a political combination, the development of language, of customs, etc., or, it may be of a subjective nature, and concern the innumerable sides of personality which through socialization find stimulus, satisfaction and development, now towards a refinement, now towards a deterioration of morals. This immediate unification of content and form which we find in historical reality does not prevent their separation for scientific purposes; geometry, for instance, deals with the mere space-forms of bodies which do not exist as forms, but only in connection with matter, the investigation of which belongs to other sciences.

The historian also, in the narrower sense, treats of nothing but an abstraction from the world of real events. Out of the infinitude of real words and deeds and the sum of all the single subjective and objective events he tries to trace the development as far as it may be brought under certain fixed concepts. Not everything that Frederick II. or Maria Theresa did from morning until night, nor even the accidental words in which they clothed their political decisions, are related in history, and much less the innumerable psychical events which in reality were indissolubly linked with these decisions, but occurred without relation to their content. It is rather the concept of the politically important which is brought to bear on the real events, and only that is sought out and enumerated which has to do with this concept, but which may, in this very continuity and coherence,

of a purely individual nature, with those which can be referred back to the real principle of society, the reciprocity of cause. So we do not make the required distinction between that which takes place merely *within* society, as within a frame, and that which comes to pass *through* society.

never have occurred. Thus, economic history isolates all that which belongs to the bodily needs of men, and the means to their satisfaction, from the totality of events—although at the same time, there is, perhaps, none among these which does not stand in some direct relation to these needs. Sociology, as a special science, must proceed in the same way. It must separate out as an object of special investigation the purely social elements from the totality of human history, or, to express the same thought with paradoxical brevity, it discusses that which in society is "Society."*

The methods, by which the problems of socialization are to be investigated, are the same as in all comparative psychological sciences. Certain psychological premises lie at the

* If, as I believe, the investigation of the forces, forms and development of socialization, of co-operation, of association of individuals, should be the single object of sociology as a special science, we must include a study of the peculiar characteristics of the forms which socializations take on under the influence of particular environments in which they are realized. If, for example, we investigate the formation of aristocracies, we must not only examine the process of separation of the originally homogeneous masses, and the bond of association of the leaders in a class unity, and the degree of repulsion which such unions manifest toward ruling sovereigns as well as toward the masses, but in addition to these elements, we must take into consideration the material interests which generally call forth such organization, and also the modifications which different stages of production and variations in the dominating ideas of the time bring about. Many characteristics too within the field of social phenomena, which in themselves seem to be essentially individual become thoroughly social as soon as our conception of social forms is broad enough; for example, secret societies constitute a peculiar sociological problem. What effect has secrecy upon association, and what special forms does it take when this condition is attached? Why do associations most dissimilar when not secret show a tendency to follow a certain similar line of development as soon as they become secret? While here the socialization appears to be determined by an extra-social principle, we find on closer observation that secrecy belongs, in its real essence, among the forms of social life. It arises exclusively where a union of individuals is found, and is a certain form of their reciprocal relationship, which is in no sense of a merely negative nature, but rather an entirely positive and reciprocal bond. Again association and combination, in the narrower sense, are not the only forms of relationship among men which belong in sociology as a science; also, associations in the broader sense of opposition, competition, are the basis of relationships which show reciprocal action among individuals prompted, perhaps, by the most different kinds of causes, but finding expression in similar forms and in a similar development. They point to forces which are developed by the competitive contact of men with each other, and the kinds and sources of which must be studied by themselves in order to know how the most extraordinary diversity of motives and objects in single cases nevertheless causes a similarity in the form of association.

bottom without which no science of history can exist at all. The phenomena of seeking and giving help, of love and hate, of avarice and of pleasure in social intercourse, self-preservation through competition on the one hand and on the other through combination, and a host of other primary psychical facts must be assumed, in order that we may at all understand the processes of socialization, formation of groups, relationships that individuals sustain to group units, etc. Just as a clear and connected economic history, together with those inductions which one may regard as approximate economic principles, is written only by culling from the sum of historical circumstances those which spring from certain physical, and yet no less psychical, needs or wants, so there is a science of society because certain specific formations within that historical complex may be referred to psychical states and actions which proceed only from social contact, from the interaction of groups and individuals one upon another.

The investigation may take two courses. It follows first the longitudinal direction of a particular evolution. Thus, for example, the history of the Germanic tribe, or of the parties in England, or of the forms of the Roman family, or of a trade-union, or of the constitution of a church, is in so far sociological as social forms,—authority and subordination, the formation of an objective union as over against the mere sum of individuals, the growth of subdivisions, the modification of the social form through the quantitative changes in the group,—appear in the complex of phenomena. There is, in the second place, a cross-sectional view of such evolutions, which paralyzes the material differences of the individuals and lays bare by induction that which is common to them all, the social forms, as such. These may be those general relations and changes which are called forth by the constant individual similarities and differences in the persons comprising every form of union; or those special forms of association which are found in the socializations of a definite

territory or object—economic, religious, domestic, social, political—or of a particular period.

This special task of sociology must be separated strictly from the philosophy of history. The philosophy of history seeks to bring historical facts, external as well as psychical, in their entirety, under general concepts, by virtue of which history may satisfy certain demands, ethical, metaphysical, religious and artistic. In complete opposition to this, sociology as a special science, the eventual scope of which I have attempted here to determine, restricts itself entirely to the realm of phenomena and their immediate psychological explanation. In only one direction do I wish to add a speculative thought to the entire problem of sociology. There is to-day scarcely a doubt that laws of history are not to be found. For history is, on the one hand, so extremely complex, and on the other it deals with so uncertain and arbitrary a section of the totality of cosmical events, that there cannot possibly be a unified formula for its development as a whole.* If we do not wish to give up the hope that we may comprehend history as a development, subject to law, the way to such an understanding must lie through the analysis of history into divisions as simple and homogeneous as possible. Just as the history of one country cannot be understood directly as an undivided whole, but rather through the separate consideration of its agricultural conditions, of its social and national politics, of its intellectual culture, of its industry and system of education, etc., so history in general is a series of special sciences whose objects, it is true, do not appear separately, and only in combination make possible the combined idea of history; but they allow of an approach to law only in that simplified form. The proposition which I make here, respecting the scope of sociology, in order to protect it from ending in a mere method for other sciences, or in a merely

* For further proof of this, see my "*Probleme der Geschichtsphilosophie*," Cap. ii.

new word for the complex of historical science—may, perhaps, be found to be a further contribution in the analysis of the aggregate of historical facts, in so far as it separates out the function of socialization in its innumerable forms and developments as a special field. This special field, through its qualitative simplicity, makes less chimerical the discovery of specific laws than the complex historical order did so long as it did not differentiate its special elements, forms and contents. It is further a special field in which—it matters not whether we give it the title of a special science, or the more important one of a collection of tasks (*Aufgabensammlung*)—we may arrest the error of the current conceptions of sociology, and in which can be grounded a good claim to a territory with indisputable boundaries, after all high-flown claims have been abandoned.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

Since the first publication* of the preceding paper, the objection has been made that I unnecessarily limited the scope of Sociology. In the first place I did not consider it important to set up a new definition of Sociology, but rather to direct attention to a number of problems closely related to each other, but which in this particular relation and in this unity had not yet been considered together. Just what name to give this group is quite unimportant since the real question is to state problems and to solve them and not at all to discuss the names which we should give to particular groups of them. I have chosen for those problems that I have described above the name Sociology because it seemed to me as if the things which are commonly treated under this title are already handled by other sciences. Political

* In Schmoller's *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reiche*. 1894.

Economy, Constitutional History, Ethnology, Statistics, History of Civilization and a number of other sciences have already divided up the entire realm of social facts. Each of these occupies itself with events and laws which manifest themselves within society. The discovery of new material facts cannot generally be held to be incumbent on Sociology as a new science, but rather the working over of the ascertained facts and their presentation through abstraction and combination, from a new point of view, the essence of which seemed to me to consist in the separation of content and form of social events. All the aforesaid sciences treat of social events in so far as they divide them to suit their subject-matter into the economic, legal, political events, which make up the fixed divisions of social life dealt with in these sciences. On the other hand, there is no science which treats of the social life merely as such and without reference to particular aims and purposes. Political Economy for example, as also Political History, and the History of Religion as well as that of Art, has much to do with the formation of parties; along each of these lines of human interest, parties arise which the particular science in each case discusses. Yet we have no science which discusses the formation, rules and development of parties in general. The historical sciences investigate the most diverse cases of competition, but that which under the utmost diversity of material aim is common to all these cases,—the formation and importance of competition, treated purely as a reciprocal action among men—that has not yet been made a subject of investigation. And so it is with all those inter-subjective relations which bring it to pass that individuals become societies. The social forms in which men unite have not yet become an object of a special science, but are always treated in connection with the material subject-matter in which they are found and by the sciences covering this subject-matter. On this account it seemed to me that the name Sociology was suited to that science which should treat these

forms by means of inductive abstraction from the collective phenomena,—which always consist of a single content in a given form. It is the only science which really seeks to know only society, *sensu strictissimo*.

The scope of this science is moreover in no sense so narrow, as it appeared to a number of my critics. For not only does it embrace the most general forms of socialization, but also those which take place only in a limited number of combinations or determine only special phases of such. The importance, for example, of a common meal-time for the cohesion of individuals is a real sociological theme, likewise the differences in socializations which are connected with variations in the number of associates; the importance of the "non-partisan" in the conflict of members (*Genossen*); the "poor" as organic members of societies; the representation of bodies through individuals; the *primus inter pares* and the *tertius gaudens*. The different aspects of associations are to be determined according as they consist of locally connected or disconnected elements; and according as they are kept together through positive or merely defensive aims; according as they consist of the sum of all partakers or of some objective unity, above their single elements as such, formed by them; according as they are secret or public; and innumerable other problems of social formation can be solved only through inductive abstraction of forms from real cases in which they appear in a definite, historical subject-matter. Only after these particular formations are investigated in all their manifoldness from their primitive shape up to their most complicated development can we gradually solve the riddle, "What is Society?" For certainly it is not a unified being which lends itself readily to apt definition, but rather consists of the sum of all those modes and forces of association which unite its elements. Society is on the one side an entirely abstract general concept which has as little reality as general concepts usually have, the reality from which it is abstracted being

the particular socializations; on the other hand it is a summing-up concept (*Summirungsbegriff*) made up of these single threads of association between individuals. I admit without hesitation that a great number of other groups of problems must be designated as social sciences, because the subject-matter which they treat appears only within society and can be understood only as social. But I can recognize as Sociology in the more exact sense, only that science which investigates the different kinds of combination of men as such.

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RAILWAY DEPARTMENTS FOR THE RELIEF AND INSURANCE OF EMPLOYEES.

Employees' relief departments have been established in connection with five large railway systems of the United States. These organizations have been instituted for the purpose of furnishing railway employees with relief in case of accident or sickness, with a superannuation allowance for protection against want in old age, and with an insurance fund for the benefit of dependent beneficiaries.

The relief department is one of the many agencies that have been called into being to assist in the solution of the labor problem. The permanent betterment of the laboring classes is a many-sided and complex problem, involving nothing less than their industrial independence. This is something that can be attained only as the result of the inculcation of such ideals in individual life and the establishment of such social forces as preclude the possibility of the degradation of any considerable class of men to a condition of dependency. Associations of railway employees for purposes of relief and insurance represent one of the many ways in which these social classes are striving by individual and united effort to improve their material condition. The savings which wage-earners have made by means of these and the numerous other organizations in which they have invested are large and increasing. This is the brightest side of the labor movement, and has frequently been investigated by students of social progress.

This paper is concerned with only one class of laborers, railway employees, and with but one of the several kinds of provident associations in which they have membership. Railway corporations have established their relief departments to assist and supplement the provident efforts of their employees. Railway companies have doubtless been influenced by certain other motives to which reference will be made directly; nevertheless the railway relief departments are organizations representing an attempt on the part of the

employers and the employed to co-operate, for the benefit of each party, in the work of providing the employes with a good system of relief, superannuation and life insurance.

Railway employes are a class of men whose industrial importance is known of all. There are in the United States nearly a million such laborers and upon them three millions or more other persons are dependent for a livelihood. They are our largest single class of workingmen, they do a service upon whose efficient performance social welfare and progress are vitally dependent; hence, whatever makes for the prosperity, contentment, and productive capabilities of these men is closely connected with the well-being of society as a whole. As the Interstate Commerce Commission says, "The prosperity of railway corporations and the safety and usefulness of the service performed by them is largely connected with the condition of their employes, and it is therefore not only natural that public interest in such condition should be largely enlisted on humanitarian grounds, but that it should also receive the attention of public authorities because of its being a matter of public concern."* The public has ample reason for desiring to see railway employes able to avail themselves generally of adequate measures of relief and insurance.

Motives Which Prompted the Establishment of Relief Departments.

In promoting the relief and insurance of railway laborers the two parties most directly interested, the employes and the companies, were impelled by dissimilar motives. The employe is engaged in an especially dangerous occupation † that makes him desire the assurance of material assistance

* Third Annual Report, p. 102.

† Mr. J. A. Anderson, Superintendent of the Relief Department of the Pennsylvania Railroad, does not agree with the opinion usually held regarding the dangerous character of railway service. He says: "I do not think this is sufficiently proved to warrant so frequent assertion as it gets. If the percentage of accidents occurring among other classes of men in mechanical work were ascertained it might change the aspect of things. The fact that the railway man and his work and what happens to him are so prominently before the public, may have something to do with the popular estimate of his occupation."

for himself or his family in time of need. Moreover, "railroad men are proverbially improvident as a class," and find it difficult to lay by any considerable portion of their wages except by submitting themselves to some such semi-compulsory arrangement as regularly recurring assessments impose. Railway employes are a well-paid class of laborers, but their savings are comparatively small. The itinerant life which a large part of them leads militates against economical living. The wages many of them receive are a variable quantity, being large when the business of the railroads is active and much reduced, or temporarily cut off, during the seasons of inactivity. Outside of the administrative branches of the railway service the conditions of employment are not conducive to personal economy. The reasons, therefore, in favor of insurance are cogent as viewed from the standpoint of the employes.

The motives which prompt a railway company to wish its employes insured are partly philanthropic. Without denying that railway corporations are organized and managed for the profits they yield their owners and officers, it may still be held true that the men who control these corporations are not without a touch of that spirit of altruism so characteristic of the age in which we live. The managers and directors of the corporations, it is true, have been so slow about introducing devices to lessen the dangers besetting the pathway of their employes, that the public has had to compel them to act more rapidly by means of forceful legislation; nevertheless some railway corporations have anticipated legislation with provisions for the safety of their workmen, and, without the pressure of law, have voluntarily established institutions to promote the material and ethical well-being of their employes. To ascribe these actions of railway managers and shareholders entirely to selfishness would be to treat these men unfairly.

It is not, however, to be denied that the chief impelling force that has inclined the railway managements to favor the

establishment of relief departments designed to promote the welfare of railway operatives has been the conviction that the money thus expended by the corporation would prove a good financial investment. The directors of some railway corporations have convinced the shareholders that it does not pay, even when the matter is viewed from a strictly business standpoint, to connect the laborers to their employing company merely by the payment of current wages. It has been shown to be for the greater good of the company to identify its own and its employees' interests to the fullest extent possible, in order thereby to cultivate a spirit of loyalty strong enough not only to prevent strikes, but also to prompt men to give the highest grade of service of which they are capable.

It is claimed, though the claim is founded upon error, that railway corporations may derive material benefit from the establishment of a relief department, because they thereby free themselves of part of their legal liabilities.* The regulations of all relief departments require the members upon joining to agree that the acceptance of benefits from the relief fund for injury or death shall operate as a release of all claims for damages against the employing company, arising from such injury or death, which could be made by or through the person accepting the benefits. The railroads have always insisted upon this exemption from legal liabilities, because the companies defray the department's operating expenses, contribute to its funds, and guarantee the payment of benefits promised. The justice of the companies' contention will be considered later.

The Different Organizations in Which Railway Employees Can Obtain Relief or Insurance.

There are three systems of insurance of which railway employees can avail themselves. (1) They may obtain membership in accident or life insurance companies. These are

* See p. 99 for a discussion of this question.

companies independent of railway corporations or employes' associations, and are organized either on the mutual plan or as stock companies. (2) Railway laborers may secure relief and insurance by means of membership in some one of the many associations or brotherhoods open to the different classes of railroad workmen. (3) They may join a relief department established and partly maintained by their employing railway corporation and administered jointly by the members of the department and the company, provided, of course, the laborer is in the employ of a company having a relief department.

Besides these three general methods of obtaining relief, mention is also to be made of the less adequate arrangements whereby companies frequently unite with their employes in affording assistance of a more temporary character. Several roads maintain hospitals for the benefit of their employes. Some of these roads require the operatives to assist in supporting such institutions, others do not. Many companies provide their force with free surgical attendance, and others contribute something to the associations formed by the employes to furnish relief, and it is customary for railway managers, when possible, to provide partially disabled men, or those grown old in service, with a kind of employment in which they are capable of serving. Contributions to relieve the needy are frequently subscribed to by individuals and corporations. Most companies, however, do not systematically assist their servants in providing themselves with insurance and relief.*

At present the method of obtaining relief and insurance by means of employes' associations having no connection with the company is the one most in vogue among railroad men. These associations are of two kinds. In some cases the employes of a single road organize and establish a relief

* In 1889, the Interstate Commerce Commission investigated the relations of railway corporations and their employes. Consult the Third Annual Report of the Commission, pp. 102-104 and 341-390, for a full statement of the relief and insurance work then being done by the employes and by the railway companies.

and insurance organization, but more frequently the assistance desired is secured by membership in the larger associations such as the International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers,* the Order of Railway Conductors of America, and other similar organizations. It would be out of place in this paper on relief departments to enter into the history of the development of this form of mutual relief and insurance work. It has grown with the progress of the organization of railway laborers. The insurance work of these associations constitutes an important and beneficial feature of their activity. The results accomplished in the alleviation of suffering are well known. It is, however, only the third system of railway employees' relief and insurance, the railway relief departments, their history, plan of organization, results accomplished, their weak points, and elements of strength that this paper can undertake to discuss.

The History of Relief Departments.

The first railroad company in the United States to establish an organization for the administration of an employees' relief fund was the Baltimore and Ohio, whose organized relief work dates from May 1, 1880. The man to whose instrumentality the establishment of the association was chiefly due was Dr. W. T. Barnard, of Baltimore, a man actuated by a strong desire to bring about a better relationship between the railway companies and their employees.† May 3, 1882, the Baltimore and Ohio Company's organization was incorporated by the State of Maryland under the name of "The Baltimore and Ohio Employees' Relief Association."

* The Report of the International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers for 1892-93 shows the membership of that society to have been 34,000 at that time, the number of divisions in the Brotherhood being 527. The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, July 1, 1895, had 556 subordinate lodges, with a combined membership of over 24,000. July 1, 1895, the Order of Railway Conductors had 370 subordinate divisions, with a membership of 20,500.

† Consult Dr. Barnard's pamphlet on "The Relation of Railway Managers and Employees."

The idea of a relief association antedated 1880. According to Mr. J. A. Anderson, Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad Relief Department, the employes of that road had as early as 1876 expressed a desire that the company should provide some plan of this kind.* Thereafter the matter was taken up from time to time by that company, although without success until 1886. In England, indeed, the railroad companies had been organizing relief associations since 1850. In Canada, the Grand Trunk Railway organized an employes' Accident Insurance Association in 1873, and the plan adopted by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was worked out by Dr. Barnard after he had made a thorough examination of benevolent railway organizations in Continental Europe, Great Britain and Canada.†

Foreign railway companies, the Canadian included, make membership in their relief associations compulsory upon their employes. The Baltimore and Ohio adopted that feature of the plan. This gave rise to much hostile criticism. The opposition thus aroused doubtless proved fortunate for the new association by calling more general attention to the plan. As Dr. Barnard says, "It forced those to examine its provisions who would otherwise have passed them by with indifference."

In 1888, the State of Maryland withdrew the charter of

* See "Remarks on the Relief Plan of the Pennsylvania Railroad." 1887.

† For a brief account of the relief associations of the London and Northwestern Railway, consult "The Working and Management of an English Railway," by Findlay, pp. 28-37. This road established a "Superannuation Fund Association," in 1853, for the benefit of salaried officers and clerks; an "Insurance Society," 1871, to provide members of the wages staff (excepting those in the running department) with relief in case of accident and with life insurance; a "Provident Society," 1874, for giving assistance to the wages staff, with the above exception, in ordinary sickness; and the "Pension Fund," also for the wages staff. The men in the running department have two separate organizations. In all cases the company and employes contribute equal sums. The Provident Society and the Pension Fund were consolidated in 1890.

For a general discussion of the superannuation of railway employes, consult an address on that subject in the volume containing the "Addresses Delivered Before the World's Railway Commerce Congress, Chicago, June 19-23, 1893." The address was made by L. J. Sargeant, General Manager of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, and President of the Chicago and Grand Trunk Railway.

the Baltimore and Ohio Employes' Relief Association; but the railroad company at once organized a relief department which on March 15, 1889, accepted the assets of the "association," assumed its liabilities and agreed to pay the benefits that had been promised by the association, whether the persons having claims upon such benefits should or should not join the relief department. However, most of the members of the relief association, 19,467 out of 20,626, at once voluntarily entered the new department. Membership in the relief department was compulsory; *i. e.*, all persons entering the permanent service of the company subsequent to the establishment of the department have been required to join the department as a condition of employment.

At the beginning of 1886, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company organized a relief department, membership in which was made voluntary on the part of the employes. The man who did most to bring about the establishment of this department was Mr. J. A. Anderson, of Trenton, N. J., the department's present superintendent. He drew up the plan which the company adopted; he has stoutly defended it against its opponents, and has efficiently managed its affairs from the beginning.

It is to be noted that the organization established by the Baltimore and Ohio was operated as an association of the employes and not as a regular department of the company's service. Mr. Anderson saw the weakness of the association plan and advised the department arrangement. The establishment of a relief department by the Pennsylvania Railroad was a new departure. When the Baltimore and Ohio relief department took the place of the association, the plans worked out by Mr. Anderson were largely followed in the organization of the "relief feature" of the department.

There are a good many individual roads included in the five large systems having relief departments. All the lines of the Baltimore and Ohio system are associated in its relief

organization. The Pennsylvania's department includes five companies, the Pennsylvania Railroad (lines east of Pittsburgh and Erie), the Northern Central, the West Jersey, the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore, and the Camden and Atlantic. The three other railway systems having relief departments are the Reading; the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, and the Pennsylvania lines west of Pittsburgh and Erie.

The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy organized its department March 15, 1889. In 1889, Mr. E. P. Ripley, who was at that time general manager of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, reported to the Interstate Commerce Commission that "the object of the company in establishing a relief department was to enable its employes to make provision for themselves and families at the least possible cost to them in the event of sickness, accident or death. The company has established this department not only because it has the interest of its employes at heart, but because it believes that the department will serve to retain and attract a good class of employes, lessen the amount of discontent caused by improvidence, diminish the amount of litigation in cases of accident, and increase the good will of the employes toward the company and their confidence in the good-will of the company towards them." *

It adopted Mr. Anderson's plan with important modifications to be noted later. The employes of the following Burlington roads are associated in the department established by that system: the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy (including the Burlington and Missouri); the Hannibal and St. Joseph; the Kansas City, St. Joseph and Council Bluffs; the St. Louis, Keokuk and Northwestern; the Chicago, Burlington and Kansas City, and the Chicago, Burlington and Northern.

Membership in the Philadelphia and Reading Relief Association embraces all classes of permanent employes in all

*Third Annual Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, p. 349.

departments of the service of the company, including its affiliated, controlled, and leased lines. The Reading, like the Baltimore and Ohio, makes membership compulsory upon employees; joining the association being one of the conditions of permanent employment. The association was established October 30, 1888, in Reading, Pa., at a meeting of the representatives of the employees of the various divisions and departments of the company's service.

The Pennsylvania lines west of Pittsburgh and Erie established a voluntary relief department April 16, 1889, the associated roads being the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis,* and the Pennsylvania Company. The department was modeled after that of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company.

These five railway systems are the only ones in the United States having relief departments of the kind under discussion in this paper. Other railroads, notably the Northern Pacific and the Lehigh Valley, maintain relief funds somewhat similar in nature to those managed by these relief departments. The Grand Trunk Railway of Canada organized an Insurance and Provident Society in 1873, and since 1874 has assisted its employees in maintaining and administering a superannuation fund. Reference will be made further on to the relief work of these three systems, but it will be best to defer this until an outline has been given of the organization and operation of relief departments proper.†

* The Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railway Company was formed October 1, 1890, by the consolidation of two roads, The Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and St. Louis and The Chicago, St. Louis and Pittsburgh.

† On page 84 an outline of the Grand Trunk Railway Superannuation Fund is given. The Grand Trunk also has an "Insurance and Provident Society," which its permanent employees are obliged to join. This organization, which had 12,629 members December 31, 1894, affords accident and sickness relief and life insurance, according to methods somewhat different from those employed by the relief departments of the railroads of the United States. It has been thought best to confine this paper to a discussion of the relief departments of the railroads of the United States, and to a comparison of methods employed by them and results which they have attained.

The Plan of Organization.

The relief departments established by the Baltimore and Ohio and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company have served as models for the relief organizations subsequently established by other American companies. An outline of the plans of these two departments will cover the essential features of those connected with the three other railway systems under consideration. Reference will be made to the chief features in which the plans of the other companies differ from the plans of these two departments.

In general, a voluntary relief department is an organization, managed conjointly by representatives of one or more railway companies and the employes, and established for the purpose of enabling such of the employes as may choose to do so to contribute certain sums from their monthly wages toward a fund administered by the organization for the mutual benefit of its members. The benefits derived from membership in a relief association are proportioned to amounts paid in. Members receive aid in case of sickness or accident, and, at their death, their families or other beneficiaries are paid definite amounts. The plan of the Baltimore and Ohio's relief department is more comprehensive than those of the four other railroad systems. It organizes the work into three parts, called the "relief feature," "savings feature," and "pension feature." The "relief feature" covers the work done by the relief departments of the other railway systems.

Described more in detail the plan of the Pennsylvania Railroad Voluntary Relief Department is as follows: Any employe not over forty-five years of age may become a member upon passing a satisfactory physical examination. The department derives its funds mainly from the contributions of its members, the expenses of management and administration being borne by the railway companies. The associated companies contribute in four ways: (1) They establish and maintain the relief department as a part of

their service. (2) The companies' entire organization co-operates with the department to assist it in conducting its business. (3) The companies accept and administer the funds of the relief department as trustees and pay interest on the money held in trust. (4) The companies guarantee the payment of all benefits promised and agree to make good any deficiency that may exist in the fund at the end of each period of three years.*

The monthly contributions of the employes range from seventy-five cents to six dollars and seventy-five cents, according to the wages class to which the contributor belongs, and the amount of the death benefit to which he is entitled. The members are divided, according to wages received, into five classes, but any member not over forty-five (or, in case of an employe of the Baltimore and Ohio, not over fifty) years of age, who has been continuously in the company's service for five years, may, upon passing a

CLASSIFICATION AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF MEMBERS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD VOLUNTARY RELIEF DEPARTMENT.

CLASS.	Wages per month.†	Payments per month.
First	Not more than \$40.00	\$.75
Second	Between \$40.00 and \$60.00	1.50
Third	Between \$60.00 and \$80.00	2.25
Fourth	Between \$80.00 and \$100.00	3.00
Fifth	More than \$100.00	3.75

* The Philadelphia and Reading does not guarantee the payment of benefits and deficiencies. It, however, contributed to the extent of ten per cent of the payments of the members of the relief association until the members and company had together paid in \$1,000,000. Since then the company has regularly contributed five per cent, as much as the members. The Baltimore and Ohio gives six thousand dollars a year for the support of the "relief feature," and two thousand five hundred dollars annually to cover the expense of the physical examination of employes. The relief department of this company also has a "pension feature," for the support of which the company annually appropriates twenty-five thousand dollars. If the "relief feature" does not need any or all of the six thousand dollars apportioned to it, the part not needed is turned over to the "pension feature."

† The Burlington's first class consists of those receiving not more than thirty-five dollars a month. A difference of twenty dollars a month in wages is made the basis of classification,—the points of division therefore occur at \$35.00, \$55.00,

satisfactory physical examination, enter a higher class than that to which his wages entitle him. The above table shows the classes into which the members of the Pennsylvania Railroad's relief department are separated and gives the contributions made by the several classes.

Members contributing to the relief fund are entitled to free surgical attendance (or in the case of the Baltimore and Ohio free hospital service) during a disability due to an accident received in the service of the company, and to benefits in case of accident, sickness, or death.* Members are not obliged to make contributions during the continuance of a disability entitling them to benefits. If the incapacity, due to sickness, lasts more than fifty-two weeks contributions for the death benefits must be renewed. The following tables indicate the benefits which may be claimed by each class of members of the relief departments of the Baltimore and Ohio and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. The Baltimore and Ohio, it is to be noted, separates its members first

CLASSES, CONTRIBUTIONS AND BENEFITS. BALTIMORE AND OHIO
RELIEF DEPARTMENT.

SUB-CLASS.	Monthly Payments.		Disablement benefits, per day, not including Sundays and legal holidays.			Death Benefits.		
	First Class.	Second Class.	For accident while on duty.		For sickness, during first 52 weeks, not including first six working days.	Death from accident.	Death from sickness.	
			First 26 weeks.	Thereafter until recovery.			Ordinary.	Maximum.
A .	\$1 00	\$ 75	\$ 50	\$ 25	\$ 50	\$ 300	\$ 250	\$1250
B .	2 00	1 50	1 00	50	1 00	1000	500	1250
C .	3 00	2 25	1 50	75	1 50	1500	750	1250
D .	4 00	3 00	2 00	1 00	2 00	2000	1000	1250
E .	5 00	3 75	2 50	1 25	2 50	2500	1250	1250

\$75.00 and \$95.00. The wage classes of the Baltimore and Ohio are, Class A, not over \$35.00 a month; Class B, not over \$50.00; Class C, not over \$75.00; Class D, not over \$100.00, and Class E, over \$100.00 a month.

* The Burlington department gives free surgical attendance wherever the accident occurs. It is thus more liberal than the others.

BENEFITS PAYABLE TO MEMBERS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD
VOLUNTARY RELIEF ASSOCIATION.

WAGES CLASS.	Disablement benefits per diem.				Death benefits.	
	For accident while on duty.		For sickness or accident while off duty.		Ordinary.	Maximum.
	First 52 weeks.	Thereafter until recovery.	First 52 weeks, excepting first three days.	Thereafter until recovery.		
First .	\$ 50	\$ 25	\$ 40	\$ 20	\$250	\$500
Second	1 00	50	80	40	500	1000
Third	1 50	75	1 20	60	750	1500
Fourth	2 00	1 00	1 60	80	1000	2000
Fifth .	2 50	1 25	2 00	1 00	1250	2500

Or such aid as
the company
may decide to
give.

into two general classes and then subdivides each of these into five classes. The first general class consists of those operating the trains or the rolling stock, the second general class includes all other employees.

Two things in the foregoing tables require explanation. Both departments afford relief to members who are permanently disabled by accident received in the service of the companies, the benefits being paid by the Pennsylvania Railroad relief department at full rate for fifty-two weeks, and at half rate thereafter. The Burlington Railroad and the Pennsylvania lines west of Pittsburgh and Erie have the same regulation. The Baltimore and Ohio pays the full benefit for twenty-six weeks. None of the departments made provision at the beginning for aiding members whose sickness or accident, received while off duty, incapacitated for work during a longer period than fifty-two weeks. The regulations of the Baltimore and Ohio department provide that if at any time the funds raised for the payment of superannuation annuities should exceed the amount required for that purpose, the excess may be used in aiding those members most deserving and most in need of help. The assistance of members continuing sick for more than a year was contemplated in this regulation, and "quite a

number have been benefited thereby," according to Superintendent Barr, "although at this time the fund applicable for this purpose is not sufficient to provide for this class.*

The Pennsylvania Railroad Companies saw that the members of their relief department continuing sick for more than fifty-two weeks were undergoing a hardship, and the boards of directors of the associated companies decided October 1, 1887, that the companies themselves would give aid to this class of persons. According to the resolution then adopted each case of sickness is to be investigated by the superintendent of the department, and then reported upon by the general manager of the railroad company to the board of directors of the company employing the person receiving aid. Pending the investigation and the action of the board the sick person receives a daily benefit of one-half the sum granted him during the first fifty-two weeks, after which he obtains "such amount as the company may authorize to be paid, based upon the member's classification in the relief fund, and the length of his faithful service with the company."

Such payments as these on the part of a railway company to those whose disablement from sickness or accident, while not on duty, continues beyond the period during which aid may be obtained from the relief fund are tantamount to pensions paid by the company. By this method these pensions are not granted in definitely predetermined amounts, but are given by special action of a board of directors taken upon the recommendation of an officer who has investigated a particular case, but the grants are none the less of the nature of pensions.†

* Quoted from a letter written August 21, 1895.

† The companies associated in the Pennsylvania Railroad Voluntary Relief Department paid, during the last fiscal year, \$31,627.60 to relieve employes whose disablement had lasted more than fifty-two weeks. The Pennsylvania lines west of Pittsburgh and Erie follow the same plan. Their last year's payment, under the head of "company relief" was \$4716.90. The Burlington and Reading Companies gave no money aid to such persons, but the Reading Association gave \$6800. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad has an organized system of pensioning, described on page 85.

The Baltimore and Ohio has a pension feature as a regular part of its relief department, by means of which the superannuated are given aid. Other roads are doing something to provide for their superannuated employes. The subjects of pensions and superannuations are of such importance that the discussion of them will be given under a special heading.

In the above tables two kinds of death benefits are noted, ordinary and maximum. The former are those to which a member is entitled by virtue of having made the ordinary payments of the wages class to which he belongs. Any person may increase his monthly payments and thus secure the right to additional death benefits. For a member of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company's relief department, the extra monthly rates payable in order to secure each additional death benefit of \$250 is thirty cents for members not over forty-five years of age, forty-five cents for those over forty-five, but not more than sixty years of age, and sixty cents for those over sixty years. Additional natural death benefits are obtainable by members of the Baltimore and Ohio department to the amounts indicated in the table. The member taking additional death benefits must be under fifty years and must pass a physical examination. He contributes twenty-five cents a month for each additional \$250 of benefits.

In general, membership in a relief department is lost by any person upon leaving or being dismissed from the employment of the company upon whose relief fund he had claim. The Burlington system and the Baltimore and Ohio allow an employe to keep up the death benefit feature of his membership in the relief department after permanent honorable dismissal from the company's service; the Burlington allows the continuance of the minimum death benefit to which the employe has been entitled during his last year of service, and the Baltimore and Ohio permits the maintenance of the former member's natural death benefit.

To guard against the forfeiture of rights in case of a tem-

porary interruption of work, any member who is furloughed or suspended, but not dismissed, may keep up his membership for several months* by paying his contributions† in advance for each month, and in other respects complying with the regulations. Any such member loses his standing if he fails to make his contribution for three (*one*, according to the Baltimore and Ohio) successive calendar months. This is a regulation which has given rise to much criticism. It would hardly seem possible for such a rule not to work occasional hardships. Discussion of it, however, is reserved to be given in another connection.

The general supervision of the Pennsylvania Railroad relief department is vested in an advisory committee, consisting of the general manager of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, *ex officio* member and chairman,‡ and twelve others, six of whom are elected by the contributing employes "from among themselves." The other six are chosen by the boards of directors of the associated companies. The officers of the department are the superintendent and assistant superintendent, appointed by the Board of Directors. The superintendent is secretary of the committee and the real manager of the department. He decides administrative questions and has general charge of all business matters, including the employment of the necessary medical and clerical forces, his actions being subject to the general manager's approval.

* Nine months in case of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, six months on the Baltimore and Ohio system, and "for a specified time" on the Burlington lines.

† The Baltimore and Ohio requires the payment of ordinary death benefits only.

‡ There are two advisory committees for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, one for the lines east of the Ohio River and one for the lines west. These bodies report to a general "committee on relief department" of four members, one of whom is the president of the company. The Pennsylvania system has two relief departments, one for lines east and one for lines west of Pittsburgh and Erie; but these are independent of each other, having no common committee over them. The chairman of the Reading's advisory committee is the first vice-president of the company. In all cases except the Reading the members of the advisory committee other than the chairman, consist of an equal number of representatives from the employes and from the companies. The Reading employes choose eight out of the fourteen elected members.

Although this paper is restricted to a discussion of the relief work of railway companies of the United States having regularly organized "relief departments," reference ought to be made to the Relief Fund of the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company and Associated Companies. This fund is maintained to provide employes with relief in case of accident and to assist the families of those killed in the service of the company. The company and subscribing employes contribute equal amounts to the maintenance of the fund. The contributions of the employes are made upon a call issued by the company from time to time, and are entirely voluntary on the part of each person. The subscriptions to each call are a day's wages or less, the amount not to exceed three dollars. Any contributor to the fund who receives an accident while performing a service for the company is entitled to receive for each working day of his disability a benefit equal to three-fourths of his last contribution; the maximum benefit period being nine months. If an accident causes the loss of a limb the contributor is provided with an artificial limb. If death results from an accident his family receives fifty dollars to cover the funeral, or other immediate, expenses. His widow, if she remains unmarried, receives for two years, in monthly payments, an allowance for every working day, at the daily rate of three-fourths the amount of the deceased employe's last contribution. If the deceased leaves no widow the benefit may be claimed by his children under sixteen years of age; if there be no children of that age the employe's mother, father, and brothers and sisters under sixteen years of age may make claim in turn. The company manages the fund and refuses to consider itself bound to aid any employe who does not make contributions to the fund.

The thirty-seventh call was made June 1, 1895. The relief work accomplished by means of the fund is indicated by the following condensed statement of receipts and disbursements between March 31, 1894, and March 1, 1895,

a period of eleven months. Two calls were made during that time.

Balance on hand, March 31, 1894,	\$3,362.63
Amount contributed by employes, 34th Call (4229 contributors)	7,795.03
Amount contributed by Company, 34th Call, . . .	7,795.03
Amount contributed by employes, 35th Call (4765 contributors)	8,789.55
Amount contributed by Company, 35th Call, . . .	8,789.55
	<hr/>
	\$36,531.79
Benefits paid	34,926.54
	<hr/>
Balance, March 1, 1895,	\$1,605.25

The Northern Pacific Railroad has a system of organized relief, managed by the Northern Pacific Beneficial Association, of which the general manager of the road is president. As concisely described by its president this association "provides a regular system of medical attendance, applying alike to both sickness and injury, also a daily allowance of fifty cents during the time of actual disability, and a small death allowance to cover burial expenses in case of death. The fund is maintained by a monthly assessment of all employes on a fifty cents per capita basis, the fund thus raised being held by the assistant treasurer of the railway company, and is administered by the secretary of the association under the direction of the president in connection with an executive committee from the general officers of the company." *

The Pension and Superannuation Feature.

Reference was made on page 79 to the pension feature of relief departments. All of the roads under discussion provide in the regulations governing their relief departments for giving aid to disabled members for at least fifty-two weeks. Besides this the pensioning of employes permanently disabled by accident incurred while on duty is provided for. No

* Third Annual Report Interstate Commerce Commission, p. 371.

system of relief, however, can be considered complete unless it makes provision for employes whom sickness or old age permanently disqualifies for labor. Every effort which employes may put forth on their own part to make provision against suffering in case misfortune or old age shall have rendered them incapable of earning a livelihood ought to be encouraged and helped on by the railway companies. But the duty of the company does not end here. It is only humanitarian for the company to help its employes to maintain the fund necessary to pension those faithful employes who have become permanently disabled in the honest discharge of duty.

But quite aside from any humanitarian motives, the advantage a wise plan of pensioning employes brings to a railway company in the increased efficiency of its staff justifies the company in aiding their employes in maintaining a pension fund. Pensioning employes gives good servants greater inducement to remain in the service; it tends to make workmen and officials more faithful and efficient, and makes it possible for a company to retire its old servants from its service in such a way as not to reduce them to disgraceful dependence when age shall have rendered them incapable of doing their work well. Whether or not it most promotes the employe's best interests for the company to bear all the expenses of the pension fund is, perhaps, an open question. Nothing ought to be done to lessen the employe's sense of personal responsibility, or in any way to undermine his feelings of industrial independence, or his pride in the same. Co-operation in sharing the burdens meets the demands of justice, and does nothing to weaken the providence and forethought of laborers—qualities of character upon which the future progress of workmen greatly depends.

The justice and wisdom of pensions for railway employes are generally recognized in foreign countries, and not only in France and Germany, where the connection of the state with the railroads has been especially close, but in England

as well, where the construction and operation of the means of transportation have always been individual enterprises. Most English companies require employees to turn a portion of their wages into a pension and superannuation fund, toward which the company usually contributes an equal amount. Usually, but not always, salaried officers and clerks contribute to a different pension fund than other employees do.

The Grand Trunk Railway of Canada adopted the English plan in part, and October 1, 1874, established a superannuation and provident fund. In view of the importance of superannuations, and of the fact that they are not provided for by the relief plans of four of the five American railway systems under consideration, reference to the superannuation fund of the Grand Trunk Railway may well be made here. The employees eligible to membership are those under thirty-seven years of age holding the position of a salaried officer, clerk, passenger or freight agent, telegraph operator, road master, inspector in any department, and foreman in the mechanical department. Membership was made optional for those in the employment of the company at the time of the inauguration of the plan. All employees in the above category, taken into the service since October 1, 1874, have been obliged, if their annual salary equaled \$400 or more, to contribute to the superannuation fund. The contribution required is two and one-half per cent of wages. The company gives a like amount.

A member may retire upon reaching fifty-five years of age, or at any time thereafter, and receive annually for the remainder of his life a sum equal to one-sixtieth of the salary obtained on retirement multiplied by the number of years he had been a contributor to the fund.* If death occurs before the member begins to receive a superannuation allowance, his

* Thus if the salary at retirement was \$900 a year, and he had been a contributor twenty-five years, he would receive $(25 \times \$15 =)$ \$375 a year. The maximum amount which he can receive is two-thirds the average salary paid to him during the years he has been contributing.

widow or dependent relatives receive a sum equal to the amount of his payments up to the time of his death. If disablement occurs ten years after joining the association the member is granted an annuity whose amount is determined by the committee of management. Members who are honorably discharged from the service of the company receive back half their contributions. Employes resigning the service of the company, after having been members of the association for five years, also receive back one-half their contributions. Any person disabled before he has been a member for five years is paid half the contributions he has made. The committee of management consists of twelve persons, eight of whom are officers of the company. The members of the association elect only four of the representatives.*

The Baltimore and Ohio is the only railroad in the United States whose relief department has a regularly organized system of pensions. Attention was called above to the fact that each company, excepting the Reading, makes provision in the regulations of its relief department for pensioning members permanently disabled and incapacitated for work by accident received while on service. The three "features" of the Baltimore and Ohio's department were also noted. The "pension feature" was established in order that superannuation annuities might be granted to men sixty-five years of age who have served the company ten consecutive years. The necessary funds are supplied entirely by the company, which annually contributes \$25,000 for this purpose.†

The benefits to which a pensioner of the Baltimore and

* The offices of the "Grand Trunk Railway Superannuation and Provident Fund Association," are in Montreal. The secretary is Mr. H. T. Tatum. The report of the secretary and a copy of the association's regulations were the sources of information in writing the above.

† This amount may also be augmented by the \$6000 yearly appropriated by the company toward the support of the relief feature, in case the funds of the relief feature do not require this extra appropriation. The pension fund has, as a fact, always received this appropriation.

Ohio relief department is entitled are one-half the first year's sickness allowance, varying from twenty-five cents a day, Sundays excluded, for a member of wages class A, to one dollar and twenty-five cents a day for a person in class E. Fifteen years of membership in the relief fund entitles the pensioner to five per cent, and twenty years of membership to ten per cent additional. The following table shows the exact amounts of pension guaranteed the several classes.

SUPERANNUATION BENEFITS, BALTIMORE AND OHIO RELIEF DEPARTMENT.

CLASS IN RELIEF FEATURE.	Daily rate, membership of four years or more.	Five per cent additional for membership of fifteen years.	Ten per cent additional, twenty years' membership.
A	\$ 25	\$ 26½	\$ 27½
B	50	52½	55
C	75	78½	82½
D	1 00	1 05	1 10
E	1 25	1 31½	1 37½

With the exception of the Burlington the plans of the other railway systems having relief departments contemplate the inauguration of a pension and superannuation feature as soon as circumstances permit. Their regulations provide that any surplus existing at the close of each period of three years "shall be used in the promotion of a fund for the benefit of superannuated members, or in some other manner for the sole benefit of members of the relief fund as shall be determined by vote of two-thirds of the advisory committee and approved by the boards of directors of the associated companies."*

At the close of its last fiscal year, December 31, 1894, the Pennsylvania Railroad relief department had a surplus of \$273,750.95, which had been set aside as a foundation for a superannuation and pension fund. This sum is not con-

* The corresponding section of the Burlington's regulations does not contain any reference, such as this in the quotation, to a superannuation fund. As the operation of its relief department has thus far resulted in a deficit, the omission is not of great practical importance.

sidered sufficient to carry on the work contemplated. "The subject, however," says the last report of the department, "is receiving continued and earnest attention." The department connected with the Pennsylvania lines west of Pittsburgh and Erie has accumulated only a small surplus as yet; but the Reading relief association has a fund which amounted to \$314,704.89 on November 30, 1894, when the report was made.*

When the relief departments take the contemplated step of incorporating in their work the payment of pensions to members whom sickness or old age incapacitates for service, they will strengthen their organizations with an important element of usefulness. In aiding the employes in providing the necessary funds for the maintenance of this work the railway companies may most properly follow the example set by the English railroads or by the Baltimore and Ohio. The railway corporations at present contribute a considerable sum annually to aid unfortunate and aged employes. Were they to add nothing to the amounts now given, their expenditures would be more beneficially made were their contributions given to supplement a well-regulated pension and superannuation fund.

The Baltimore and Ohio superannuation feature is supported entirely by the company, but the benefits granted are comparatively small. Moreover, the reasons above referred to against granting pensions to employes without their having contributed toward the funds from which the pensions are paid make desirable the co-operation of the employes and companies in raising the amount of money necessary to carry on the work. When the other companies come to establish a pension feature they will do well to make the payments

*The Superintendent of the Philadelphia and Reading Relief Association, Mr. W. Hoffman, says in a letter dated June 12, 1895: "The payment of benefits to permanently disabled members, and pensions to superannuated employes, is a matter to be considered and adjusted whenever it is thought the surplus funds of the association, now amounting to nearly three hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars (\$325,000), will warrant it."

larger than the Baltimore and Ohio has made them, and require the employes to bear part of the expense.

The Savings Feature.

Two railway systems, the Baltimore and Ohio and the Pennsylvania companies east of Pittsburgh and Erie, manage a savings fund in the interests of their employes. The Baltimore and Ohio has made the savings fund a regular feature of its relief department, while the Pennsylvania Railroad Company has a distinct organization for the management of the money entrusted to it by the employes. The association of the savings feature with the relief department seems appropriate for logical reasons. The purposes underlying the establishment and maintenance of each are much the same. The savings fund enables the company to increase its means of aiding its employes to secure themselves and their dependent families against want. The only reason that could make it desirable for the board of directors of a railway company to separate the savings fund from the relief department must grow out of the problem of practical administration. For this reason reference is here made to the savings fund of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, although it is not managed by the relief department. The plan of the Baltimore and Ohio will first be outlined.

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company had two objects in view in the establishment of a savings fund: "To afford opportunity to employes and their near relatives to deposit savings and earn interest thereon, and enable employes only to borrow money at moderate rates of interest and on easy terms of repayment, for the purpose of acquiring or improving a homestead or freeing it from debt." The company guarantees the repayment of deposits and the payment of interest at the rate of at least four per cent per annum, unless changed by notice. If the net earnings of the savings fund exceed the guaranteed interest dividends may be declared; accordingly the depositors have regularly

received five per cent on their investments. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895, the depositors got five and one-half per cent.

The rules governing the savings fund give (1) "any employe of the company, his wife, child, father or mother, or the beneficiary of any deceased member of the relief feature" the privilege of depositing with the company any sum of money not less than one dollar and not more than \$100 in one day, for the repayment of which, with interest, the company becomes the guarantor. Any person ceasing to be employed by the company may continue a depositor if his balance is fifty dollars or more at the time of leaving. (2) "Any adult employe of the company, who is a member of the relief feature and has been continuously in the service not less than a year, may borrow from the funds of the savings feature sums not less than \$100, at the interest rate of six per cent per annum," payable monthly. It is, however, provided that every borrower must carry life insurance in the relief department equal to the sum loaned him; or, if the regulations of the relief feature prevent this, the borrower must hold a policy of equal amount in some regular life insurance company.

The only purpose for which money can be borrowed is for acquiring, improving, or releasing a lien, upon a home situated, except in large cities, within a mile of the railroad company's lines. No loan is paid directly to the borrower, but is applied to the payment of bills approved by him. The repayment* of loans is provided for by deductions from the

* The repayment of a loan of one thousand dollars is illustrated by the following statement:

Principal	\$1000 00	Interest second month	4 95
Interest first month	5 00		
	<u>\$1005 00</u>	Second payment	15 00
First payment	15 00		
	<u>\$990 00</u>		<u>\$979 95</u>

The loan would be repaid in about eighty-two months, the total interest paid being \$219.43.

monthly wages of the borrower of a dollar and fifty cents for each hundred dollars of the debt. If the borrower leaves the service of the company he must make the monthly payments at his own risk.

The plan of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company's saving fund differs from that of the Baltimore and Ohio in several particulars. The chief difference being that the Pennsylvania makes no provision for loaning money to employes. This robs the Pennsylvania's savings fund of the feature of most social importance, and makes it of less value than the Baltimore and Ohio's fund. Deposits may be made of sums, in even dollars, not exceeding \$100 a month. The privilege of depositing is limited to the period of employment in the service of the company. If a depositor's connection with the company be severed his accounts must be settled within thirty days.

The employes appreciate the privileges afforded by the savings feature. According to the report of June 30, 1894, the savings fund of the Baltimore and Ohio was in debt to the depositors to the amount of \$780,668.42. The outstanding loans to the employes were \$667,334.75. The deposits during the year were \$227,861.11; the amount loaned within the year, \$206,081.56. From August 1, 1882, when the savings fund was inaugurated, to June 30, 1894, the total deposits amounted to \$2,220,334.28, and the total sum loaned to employes equaled \$1,526,842.35. The money thus loaned was used upon houses—in building 813, buying 714, improving 159, and releasing liens on 329.

The report of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, December 31, 1894, shows that 4112 employes of that road were depositors in its savings fund. The total amount of the fund on that date was \$1,354,748.33, and of this sum \$1,300,000 had "been securely invested in four per cent bonds." The company established the fund December, 1887.

The Results Accomplished by Railway Departments in the Relief and Insurance of Employees.

Having outlined the organization of the different branches of the relief department, and given statistics of the results accomplished in helping to provide pensions and superannuation payments, and in inaugurating and managing savings funds, it now remains to examine the nature and extent of the relief afforded employees by means of benefits paid in case of accident, sickness, or death. Most of the data required for this examination is contained in the annual reports of the five relief departments under consideration.

The companies associated in these five relief departments own or operate fully one-eighth of the total railway mileage of the United States, and include in their service about one-sixth of all the employees of the country. The following table shows what the membership of the several relief departments has been at the close of each fiscal year since organization:

YEAR.	Pennsylvania Railroad Co. End of fiscal year, December 31.	Pennsylvania Lines, West. End of fiscal year, June 30.	Philadelphia and Reading. End of fiscal year, November 30.	Baltimore and Ohio. End of fiscal year, June 30.	Chicago, Burling- ton and Quincy. End of fiscal year, December 31.	Totals.
1886	19,952	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	19,952
1887	18,744	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	18,744
1888	19,332	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	19,332
1889	21,457	. . .	13,030	22,930	5,027	62,444
1890	24,984	12,168	14,596	22,313	9,407	83,468
1891	27,200	11,666	15,035	21,920	10,336	86,157
1892	31,640	11,391	15,216	19,894	12,283	90,424
1893	32,827	12,464	14,748	22,637	11,476	94,252
1894	33,405	11,463	15,160	20,479	11,768	92,275

The membership in the departments showed a steady increase until checked by the crisis of 1893 and 1894, which necessarily reduced the number of railway employees. The present total membership comprises somewhat over ten per

cent of the railway force of the United States. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company's department, October 1, 1894, had on its rolls fifty-one per cent of all the employes of the companies associated in that organization. In the Burlington's department 53.18 per cent of the employes are enrolled. As not all employes of these systems are eligible to membership in the relief departments the members constitute a much larger percentage of those who have the right to join than of the total number of men in the service. The Baltimore and Ohio and the Reading make membership in the relief department a condition of employment, thus the enrollment of their relief organizations includes nearly all their permanent working force. The total number of men employed by the Reading, November 30, 1894, was 17,099; as given above the members of its relief department numbered 15,160.

The dangers incident to railway service are notorious.* The following table gives the record of disablements and deaths during the fiscal year ending in 1894 among the railway employes who are members of relief departments:

AVERAGE MEMBERSHIP, DEATHS AND DISABLEMENTS, RELIEF DEPARTMENTS, DURING FISCAL YEAR ENDING IN 1894.

RELIEF DEPARTMENT.	Average membership during the year.	Disablements Occurring.				Deaths Occurring.			
		Accidents.	Cases of sickness.	Total.	Percentage of members constantly disabled.	By accident.	From natural causes.	Total.	Per 1000 members.
P. R. R. . .	32,624	4,731	13,073	17,804	31.8%	69	304	373	11.5
Penna. Lines, West . . .	11,894	2,197	3,243	5,440	31.8%	41	121	162†	14
B. & O. . . .	21,288	3,584	8,022	11,606	31.8%	65	178	243	11.4
Reading . . .	14,500	2,467	5,117	7,584	31.8%	56	110	166	11.4
Burlington .	11,400	2,773	4,469	7,242	31.8%	28	64	92	8.1

* See page 65.

† This is the number of death benefits paid during the year; 164 deaths occurred.

This table is of some value for purposes of comparison. It is, however, limited to one year and must be taken as illustrative instead of being made the basis of deductions. The statistics of deaths occurring indicate the number of death benefits paid, but there is no such correspondence between the number of disablements and the number of disablement benefits. Many cases of accident and sickness reported do not involve the payment of any benefits. For the 3584 accidents reported to the Baltimore and Ohio department there were 2996 cases receiving benefits; sickness benefits were paid on only 3033 cases, in fact not more than fifty per cent of the cases of sickness reported receive benefits, because recovery takes place within the first week, during which time no aid is given. Nevertheless the statistics of each company show the payment of a greater number of benefits than there are disablements reported. This is explained by the fact that more than one payment may be made for a single case of disablement. Other things being equal the sickness benefits paid by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company will be more in number than those paid by other roads, because that corporation begins aiding the sick after only three days of disability. With these limitations kept in mind the table may be consulted to determine the risks carried by the relief departments.

As already stated the funds, out of which the benefits are paid and the departments operated, are derived from the members' contributions, increased and supplemented by grants made by the companies. During the fiscal year ending December 31, 1894, the members of the Pennsylvania Railroad relief department contributed \$611,745.40,* while the companies gave the department \$88,701.47 for operating expenses, \$2007.50 for deficiencies, and \$31,267.60 to members whose disability, due to natural causes, had continued over fifty-two weeks. The companies' total payments

*Including \$6186.64 received as interest on deposits.

were \$121,976.57, or sixteen and one-half per cent of the entire amount contributed by both parties. The Burlington's department, from its establishment, June 1, 1889, to December 31, 1894, received from its members \$1,211,852.08, including interest, and from the associated companies \$285,960.19 for operating expenses, and \$42,532.94 for the discharge of deficiencies. The total contributions of the companies were \$328,493.13, or nineteen per cent of the entire amount received from both contributors. The reports of the Baltimore and Ohio relief work show that company's department to have paid benefits during the fourteen years preceding June 30, 1894, to the amount of \$3,735,880.80. The company gave for operating expenses \$520,464.67, and for pensions \$238,254.30, or a total \$758,718.99. The company's contribution was sixteen and eight-tenths per cent of the total receipts of the department.

It thus appears that the relief departments obtain from one-sixth to one-fifth of their receipts from the railroad companies. Part of this sum goes to relieve the permanently disabled, and is thus of the nature of pensions. This seems a small proportion for the companies to pay toward the several kinds of relief afforded when one considers that the contributions made by foreign railroad companies for the relief, pension, and insurance purposes are one-third or one-half of the total funds. It is, however, to be borne in mind that the railroad companies contribute several valuable services not included in what they give as "operating expenses." American companies also pay higher wages, and by means of them the employees are able generally to secure relief and insurance in labor organization if they choose to do so. It was suggested above that both the companies and the employees might well increase their contributions toward pension and superannuation funds.

The actual aid derived by the members of relief departments during the fiscal year ending in 1894 is shown by the following table. The surgical services received by mem-

bers is not included in the sums indicating benefits received.* Except in the case of the Burlington the payments indicate benefits received for each case of sickness or accident, it is possible for a member who meets with more than one accident or who is permanently disabled, to receive more than one benefit within a year. The figures for the Burlington indicate the average cost of the cases closed during the year. Unless this is kept in mind the table will seem unfair to the Burlington department. The table does not include the superannuation payments made by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

AVERAGE BENEFITS PAID BY RELIEF DEPARTMENTS.
FISCAL YEAR 1893-94.

RELIEF DEPARTMENT.	For Disablement from		For Death from	
	Accident.	Sickness.	Accident.	Sickness.
P. R. R.	\$13 49	\$11 19	\$611 25	\$565 15
Penna. Lines, West	17 00	13 71	621 13	638 84
B. & O.	12 33	15 30	1075 62	589 43
Reading	17 00	14 50	451 00	460 50
Burlington	25 31	31 86	869 57	694 63

The relief work of the Baltimore and Ohio Company's organization has been in progress since 1880. The record of what has been accomplished by the "relief feature" of that company's department during a period of fourteen years may be taken as a fair indication of the results of relief work by such means. This record is as follows:

* Payments to outside physicians from the Pennsylvania Relief Fund are included in the amounts reported as paid for benefits.

BENEFITS PAID BY B. & O. EMPLOYEES' RELIEF ASSOCIATION AND
THE RELIEF DEPARTMENT FROM MAY 1, 1880,
TO JUNE 30, 1894.

	Number.	Cost.	Average per Case.
Deaths from accident.	959	\$1,011,232 22	\$1,054 46
Deaths from other causes	1,841	821,290 50	446 11
Disabilities from accidental injuries received in discharge of duty	51,430	662,084 81	12 87
Disabilities from sickness and other causes than as above	74,306	1,091,338 57	14 69
Surgical expenses	29,591	149,934 70	5 06
Aggregate	158,127	\$3,735,880 80	\$23 62
Add disbursements for expenses, etc., during same period		520,464 67	
Total disbursements for all purposes		\$4,256,345 47	

The following table shows the amount of relief work done by the relief department of the Pennsylvania Railroad during the nine years of its history:

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS, RELIEF DEPARTMENT, PENNSYLVANIA
RAILROAD FOR THE NINE-YEAR PERIOD ENDING
DECEMBER 31, 1894.

RECEIPTS.

From members,	\$3,957,242.78
Interest on current balances and surplus, . . .	93,725.30
Contributions of Companies for deficiencies, Company relief and operating expenses, . . .	898,042.94
Total revenue,	\$4,949,011.02

DISBURSEMENTS.

For accidents,	\$722,565.15
For sickness,	1,287,220.48
For deaths from accidents,	420,944.45
For deaths from natural causes,	1,279,214.45
Total payments for benefits, *	\$3,709,944.53
Operating expenses,	\$770,380.60
Total disbursements,	\$4,480,325.13

[456]

Objections Raised by the Critics of Relief Departments.

The railway employees' relief department has not escaped adverse criticism. The animosities to which the conflicts of labor and capital have given rise would alone account for the opposition of many persons to an institution founded by the railway companies partly for the avowed purpose of helping to harmonize the interests of the employed and employer. Some of those who are solicitous for the welfare and upliftment of railway operatives have thought it best for these laborers to avoid all alliance with their employers. Persons of this mind have regarded the relief department as "a corporation measure, against the best interests of the employe." The more severe of these critics have denounced both the compulsory and voluntary relief departments, claiming that in establishing them the railway company's "first purpose was to retard the growth of labor organizations, and the second to protect itself against suits for damages."*

The fact that the organizations of railway employees provide members with opportunities for insurance makes it necessary for the relief departments associated with railway companies to do their work in a competitive field; they are rivals of other relief and insurance agencies and have to meet their criticism and opposition. This criticism is mainly directed against three features of the relief department's plan of organization.

First, objection is most frequently raised against the relief departments in which membership is made compulsory upon employees by being imposed as a condition of entering the employment of the company with which the relief organization is connected. Mr. E. E. Clark, grand chief conductor of the Order of Railway Conductors of America, is one of the more temperate critics of relief departments. He is not in favor of voluntary relief associations, but is chiefly opposed to those having the com-

* See *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, March, 1894.

pulsory feature. "When the railroad companies," he says, "establish these associations and make membership therein voluntary on the part of their employes it is purely a business proposition, under which they enter a competitive field, and no one has any right to question their right to do so."

The Reading and the Baltimore and Ohio systems are the only ones which make membership in their relief departments compulsory upon employes. When the Baltimore and Ohio Company first inaugurated its relief department the compulsory feature gave rise to much criticism. The plan of the department, however, in making provision for continuing participation in death benefits after leaving the service of the company took away much of the force of the objection to compulsory membership. The plan of the relief department of the Pennsylvania Railroad, as first proposed, included the compulsory feature and the continuation of death benefits to members after leaving the service; but the employes objected to the compulsory feature, and a voluntary department with benefits limited to the period of service was instituted.*

The Reading Railroad does not allow a member of the relief association to continue payments and maintain a claim upon death benefits after leaving the service, although membership is compulsory. This is a serious defect in the company's plan. There seems to be no injustice in the compulsory feature when death benefits, as by the plan of the Baltimore and Ohio and the Burlington, are not conditioned upon continuation in the service of a particular road. Moreover, there is an advantage, from the point of view of the public, in making membership compulsory, arising from the fact that by this arrangement all permanent employes of the railroad must have passed the physical examination required by the relief department. This would raise the physical attainments and the general proficiency

*See "Remarks on the Relief Plan of the Pennsylvania Railroad," by J. A. Anderson.

of the staff of laborers in whose keeping the safety of the traveling public is constantly entrusted.

Second, the regulations of all of the five relief departments stipulate that the member or his beneficiary may choose whether he will sue the company for damages in case of accident or death, or accept the benefits payable from the relief fund. If he chooses the latter he shall have no further legal claim against the company. This stipulation has often been denounced by the critics of relief departments who charge the railroad companies with establishing these departments in order to shield themselves from their legal liabilities. The accusation has little validity. The companies make substantial contributions to the funds of the relief department, which appropriations may rightly take the place of payments they would otherwise make. The benefits obtained by the employes from membership in relief departments, being an assured sum of considerable amount receivable promptly when most needed, are greater than could be obtained from the railroad companies by virtue of their legal liabilities to pay damages to injured employes or to their heirs. Very many accidents do not, on the face of things, involve a liability on the part of the company. The liability of the company usually has to be proven. The law may guarantee a larger payment, but law suits are uncertain, delays are unavoidable, and the lawyer's fees are heavy. The legal liability makes no provision in case of sickness or death due to natural causes; and disablements and deaths resulting from natural causes largely outnumber those caused by accidents.

Third, another objection raised against relief departments generally is that membership in them is forfeited when the employe leaves the service of the company with which the department is connected. This has been referred to in considering the objections to the compulsory feature. This is a weighty criticism. During the fiscal year of 1893-94, 2896 members of the Pennsylvania Railroad relief depart-

ment left the service of the associated companies. The year previous 5161 members left the service, or fifteen per cent of the average membership. As regards the relief department of the Pennsylvania lines west of Pittsburgh and Erie, 2561 members left the service in 1892-93, and 1741 in 1893-94.

A faithful employe may contribute for a number of years to a fund from which death benefits are obtainable and then, by dismissal from service on account of some one of many reasons which may compel railway companies to reduce their force—by the discharge of good servants as well as poor ones—be obliged to lose all claims upon life insurance payable from that fund. Of course, it is perfectly just that claims for sickness and accident benefits should terminate with service; but in the case of claims upon death benefits it is a different matter. The Baltimore and Ohio department allows members after leaving the service of the company to retain their natural death benefits, and is thus not open to the above criticism. The regulations of the Burlington's department permit a member of one year's standing who has served the company continuously for three years to retain, upon leaving the company's service, "the minimum death benefit which he has held at any time during the last year." Though this provision is restricted by the requirement of three years' continuous service it frees the company of the charge of injustice. The relief departments of the three other companies ought to amend their regulations so as to permit employes to continue claims upon death benefits after leaving the service of the company to whose relief fund they had been contributing. If the adoption of the compulsory feature is necessary in order to make this change, then let that also be incorporated.

These criticisms of railway relief departments have undoubtedly kept several railroad systems from establishing such associations. The replies made by the presidents of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul; the Michigan Cen-

tral, and the Louisville, New Albany and Chicago to the circular of inquiry, sent out by the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1889, in connection with its investigation into the relations existing between railway corporations and their employes, assert that those three companies had not established relief departments because of the opposition of the employes.* There is, however, little evidence that railway companies have made any very earnest attempt to overcome the objection of their employes, much of which opposition there is reason to believe is due to a misunderstanding of the plan of relief proposed, and of the purposes which may prompt a company in seeking to establish such an institution.

The relief departments now existing seem to find favor with the men in the service of the companies that have established relief organizations. Mr. S. R. Barr, superintendent of the Baltimore and Ohio relief department, says: "The organizations of railway employes do not actively oppose the relief department, nor do I think they have any objection. No objection on the part of any organized body of labor has ever come to my attention since this institution was organized. I have been present at many of the meetings of these organizations and have addressed the men on this subject and have talked with the leaders and have never heard any expressions of opposition at any time; on the contrary, I think that these men, as a rule, favor this institution.†"

Special Advantages of the Railway Department Plan of Relief and Insurance.

The adverse criticisms made by the opponents of the relief department idea, though containing some truth and suggesting at least one amendment, do not disprove the superiority of this over other plans of relief and insurance. The special advantages, from the employe's standpoint, of

* See Third Annual Report Interstate Commerce Commission.

† Quoted from a letter written August 10, 1895.

this method of relief are its comprehensiveness, its cheapness, and its safety.

The comprehensiveness has already been fully indicated. Life insurance is provided in amounts varying from \$250 to \$2500, and relief is guaranteed in case of sickness or accident. The relief assured is definite in amount and promptly obtained. When the proposed pension feature shall have been regularly incorporated in the plan the member of the relief department will have a definite claim upon assistance in all cases in which relief ought to be obtained.

A fruitful discussion of the cheapness of relief and insurance by means of railway departments must take several factors into account. The plan of relief being much more comprehensive than those of other agencies, obviously a comparison of the total assessments of relief departments with the requisitions of rival organizations would have no meaning. The payments made by the members of the railway department are given to secure claims upon three kinds of benefits—sickness, accident, and death benefits. As a prerequisite of any comparison of the costs of relief and insurance in relief departments and in other organizations it is necessary to apportion the total assessments of the relief departments among the three kinds of benefits. According to the experience of the relief department of the Pennsylvania lines west of Pittsburgh and Erie the total payments of a member of the fourth class, *i. e.*, one who contributes thirty-six dollars annually to the department and has a claim upon a death benefit of \$1000, represent a contribution of ten dollars to cover the accident claim, thirteen dollars for sickness claim, and thirteen to cover the expenses of maintaining the death benefit. This member in class four could secure an additional death benefit of \$1000 by paying fourteen dollars and forty cents extra if not over forty-five years of age, and twenty-one dollars and sixty cents extra if over forty-five and not more than sixty years old.

The costs of securing a claim to the death benefits of a relief department are to be compared with the costs of carrying life insurance in some regular stock company or in "the mutual benefit department" of some such labor organization as the orders and brotherhoods in which railway men largely have membership. As compared with the costs of life insurance in companies, such as the Equitable or others similar to it, the cost of mutual insurance, whether in a brotherhood or in a railway relief department, is much less. When one compares the railway relief department with the order or brotherhood as to the relative costs of life insurance, the two institutions are found to make about the same showing. The Order of Railway Conductors, for instance, gives its members, capable of passing the usual physical examination, a chance to insure for sums varying from \$1000 to \$5000, according to age. The average cost for all members per thousand dollars of insurance is fourteen dollars a year. The order also pays the full amount of the life insurance certificate to the member if he suffer the loss of a hand or foot, or the total loss of eyesight or of the sense of hearing. In the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers the cost of insurance is greater, as the dangerous character of the engineer's work would lead one to expect. The average expense in 1892-93 for each member insured was sixteen dollars and thirty-three cents per thousand dollars of insurance carried.

Such comparisons might be multiplied, but these two suffice to show that the actual cost of life insurance in the orders and brotherhoods does not materially differ from the costs of securing equal insurance benefits in relief departments. There is good reason why this should be true. In both cases the benefits are afforded at actual cost. The expenses of operating the relief department are paid by the companies, while the costs of administering the mutual department, it is true, have to be borne by assessments on the members insured; but the actual cost of collecting and pay-

ing life insurance is really light. The Order of Railway Conductors paid claims in 1894 aggregating \$388,000 at an expense of only \$8760.74—two and one-fourth per cent of the benefits paid.

The expenses of securing the accident benefits of railway relief departments might well be compared with the costs of obtaining equal assistance from a labor organization or from a stock accident insurance company, were it possible to make such a comparison. This, however, is hardly possible.

The relief department does a much larger work. It has much more complete facilities for affording relief than can be given by any other agency. Having connection with the railway company the departments are more easily able to command the services of surgeons at all points along the railroad's lines. They also have the free use of the railway organization to aid them in giving assistance in individual cases and in perfecting a general system of relief work. These facts are so generally recognized that railroads having no relief department provide surgical treatment, and often establish hospitals for the employes who meet with accidents while on duty. The orders and brotherhoods undertake only to supplement the accident relief afforded by the railroads and provide definite accident benefits only in case of permanent injuries that incapacitate their members for labor. The railway employes belonging to a relief department, whenever disabled by any kind of accident resulting from the performance of some service for their employer, receive free surgical attendance and obtain money benefits of a definite amount during the entire continuance of the disability.

Accident insurance in stock companies is expensive. The operating expenses of such companies are heavy and their profits large. These two items sometimes consume half the receipts from premiums. The operating expenses of relief departments are paid by the railway companies, and the

surplus receipts are all devoted to the payment of benefits to members.

Still less is it possible to make definite comparisons between relief departments and the brotherhoods and orders as regards the cost of sickness benefits. The labor organizations render commendable assistance to their members during sickness, and in ways that are familiar to everybody. They have not undertaken and could hardly attempt to furnish their members with definite money aid during the entire continuance of sickness. The member of the relief department may be considered to receive his wages from two different funds. When well he is paid the major part of his earnings from the funds of the company's paymaster; when he meets with an accident or is taken sick he begins to receive from the funds of the relief department the remaining minor portion of what he has earned plus the contributions of others. The member of the relief department pays a liberal sum for sickness as well as accident relief, but obtains in return greater assistance than can be gotten in any other way.

The substance of these general remarks on the relative cheapness of the relief and insurance to be secured from relief departments is that the costs of life insurance, where comparisons are possible, are about the same in the brotherhoods and in the relief departments. The accident and sickness benefits secured from relief departments are more comprehensive than those to be obtained from either stock companies or from brotherhoods, and they are obtained more cheaply from the departments than from the stock companies. The relief departments render greater assistance than other agencies, and levy assessments to cover the actual benefits paid. These costs are less than those of any other relief system could be because of the connection of the department with the organization of a great railway system.

The third special advantage of the employe's securing insurance and relief from a railway department is the safety of this plan. Mutual insurance is always cheap, but

is not usually considered so safe as insurance in old wealthy stock companies. For this reason, chiefly, the stock company is able to obtain higher premiums. But the relief department connected with a large railway corporation or with several associated companies is a thoroughly safe institution. Great railway properties are hardly destructible; receiverships may come and reorganization proceed slowly or never be realized, but the road will continue to be operated either by the old management or by a new one, and the employes will hold their positions and keep on with their work. Their relief department will live on and will suffer least of all from the misfortunes of the road. Whatever surplus the department may possess will, judging from precedent, have been invested in bonds of the best description.

These are some of the advantages of the relief department accruing directly and solely to the employe. Other advantages are shared by the member with the railroad companies and the public. One result of the establishment of relief associations in which the railway companies and their servants unite for a common purpose is the cultivation of a better relationship between employer and employed. Labor and capital are brought into friendly contact. This is to their mutual benefit and for the good of society. If the relief department contributes something to overcome the bitter feelings, the distrust, hostility, and strife which have so often characterized the relations of corporations and their employes, that fact must argue much in its favor.

The relief departments render the public an important service by raising the standard of efficiency in the railway service. This is especially true when membership in a relief department, and hence the ability to pass the requisite physical examination, is made a condition of admission to permanent service. The regulations of all relief departments stipulate that no benefits shall be paid to any member who meets with an accident because of intoxication, fighting, or disorderly conduct. The beneficial influence

of such a rule as this hardly need be pointed out. What-ever raises the *morale* of railroad laborers is a public blessing. Any criticism against a railway company for refusing to employ any but thoroughly sound and trustworthy men is based on error. The safety of the public and its economic welfare are so vitally dependent upon the railways that the best interests of society demand that the railroad companies' staff of laborers shall consist of the best grade of men obtainable.

Conclusions.

This study of the railway relief department leads to the conclusion that it is an institution of undoubted benefit to the employes, the railway companies, and the public. It is founded upon the true principle that the interests and welfare of labor, capital, and society are common and harmonious, and can be promoted more by co-operation of effort than by antagonism and strife. The institution enables the railway companies to assist more fully in alleviating the suffering which laborers in such a dangerous service must inevitably incur. The public and railroad corporations are alike benefited by the higher standards of efficiency which the relief department has required the railway staff to maintain.

The railway relief department is not an institution that can or ought to take the place of the organizations in which railway employes have membership. The provision of relief and insurance is only one of the purposes of the orders and brotherhoods of railway employes. Were they to turn over this function entirely to the railway relief department, their societies would still perform the chief service for which they were established and would still appeal strongly to the interest and support of railway employes. There is, however, no need of this. There is a work for both to do in providing relief and insurance. The disabled employe needs the nursing and care which his order can give him, and he needs the definite financial aid that relief depart-

ments furnish. In the matter of life insurance the poorer employe will find contributions to the death benefits paid by the relief departments as great a financial burden as he can easily carry; but the employe receiving higher wages will gladly avail himself of the opportunity of increasing his life insurance by joining the mutual benefit department of his order. Should the railway relief departments increase in number and membership some such a division of the field as this would be the natural consequence.

The railway relief department is still a new institution. It has lived long enough to demonstrate its usefulness, although it has not yet been fully worked out. In its future evolution the institution may be relied upon to discover where changes will improve its utility. That it will thus grow and increase its power for good may be expected if its foundation principle is sound and its methods of work have been wisely chosen.

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BRIEFER COMMUNICATIONS.

THE RAILROAD COMMISSION OF CALIFORNIA. A STUDY IN IRRESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

The reason why political science is less rigorously exact than the natural sciences, is found in the difficulty of isolating its phenomena. Direct experiment being impossible, we must draw our conclusions from observing what goes on around us, and there is usually such a mixture of causes and effects to observe, that we can find plausible grounds for almost any sort of conclusion we please to extract. Hence the scientific value of those rare cases in which all complicating elements are removed, and we are allowed the privilege of studying reactions as simple and determinate as those the chemist produces in the laboratory.

The question whether our present system of government is really democratic or not, is one that must be answered by experience. The theory is that we elect to office men who hold certain ideas about public policies, allow them to serve for fixed terms, and then if they have not given satisfaction, elect others in their places. This plan is said to be democratic, because it is assumed that the wishes of the people will be reflected in the action of the men they elect, if not after the first election, certainly after the second. We know that there are a good many unsettled or unsatisfactorily settled questions before Congress, such as the subjects of silver and the tariff, notwithstanding the frequent recurrence of elections in which the people have been supposed to have a chance to express their desires; but it may be said, that these have been so confused by the number of other issues with which they have been mingled, that there has been no chance to secure an unmistakable, popular mandate and tell whether or not it has been carried out.

Here is the value of the Railroad Commission of California as an object lesson. There are no complications whatever here. We have a body, created sixteen years ago for one definite purpose, and frequently renewed, with its mandate unchanged. It is impossible to imagine a better test of the question, whether, with our political machinery, the people really govern. In tracing the history of this experiment I shall carefully refrain from discussing the merits of the railroad question in California. I shall express no opinions about the motives or the wisdom of the Railroad Commissioners. My purpose is simply to throw some light upon the question, how far the political

machinery in use in every State of the Union permits the matured wishes of the people to be carried into effect.

One of the chief considerations that led to the adoption of the new Constitution of California in 1879 was the popular desire to reduce and regulate the charges of the Central Pacific Railroad and its affiliated lines, now all controlled by the Southern Pacific Company. There had been discontent and agitation from the very beginning of the operation of the road. Each successive Legislature had been expected to do something, but the legislative machinery had shown its usual incapacity to deal with such matters, and each session had closed with nothing accomplished. At one time three Commissioners of Transportation were appointed, under an act afterward declared unconstitutional, and although they could do nothing but give advice, which the Legislature would not follow, their advice seemed so good that the people thought that the relegation of the whole railroad question to such a commission would prove a panacea for all the ills from which they believed themselves to be suffering. Accordingly, when the new constitution was framed, a Railroad Commission was created, with autocratic powers. It was to consist of three members, elected by districts for four years, after the first term, which was to end in three years. "Said Commissioners," said the Constitution, "shall have the power, and it shall be their duty, to establish rates of charges for the transportation of passengers and freight by railroad or other transportation companies, and publish the same from time to time with such changes as they may make." They were also to hear and determine complaints against transportation companies, and were invested with power to administer oaths, take testimony, compel the production of evidence and punish for contempt, "in the same manner and to the same extent as courts of record." Heavy penalties were to be imposed for any violation of the orders of the Commission, and it was provided that in all controversies, civil and criminal, the rates of fares and freights established by this body should be deemed conclusively just and reasonable, and that in any action against a corporation for damages sustained by charging excessive rates, the plaintiff, in addition to the actual damages, might, in the discretion of the judge or jury, recover exemplary damages. The compensation of the Commissioners was fixed by law at \$4000 a year.

The first election was held in 1879, and the Commissioners elect were divided among three parties. The first district elected Joseph H. Cone, a Republican. The Republican platform upon which Mr. Cone was nominated had this to say of the railroad question :

"That in the opinion of this Convention, justice demands the present rate of fares and freights on all lines in the State which have

received State or National aid ought to be reduced at least 25 per cent."

In the second district the successful candidate was C. J. Beerstecher, of the Workingmen's party. When Mr. Beerstecher had been nominated he had immediately taken the stringent pledges required by the convention that placed him in the field. The platform upon which he stood declared that "charges for freights and fares on railroads, and for the use of water, gas and all other necessities of civilized life that are monopolized, must be so regulated that there shall be no discrimination between persons and places, and that capital actually in railroad, water and gas rights should yield no greater income than capital invested in farming and other productive industries." The platform also announced the principle that "any official who shall violate the pledges given to secure his election should be punished as a felon." The candidates were furthermore required to take a pledge "that officers shall resign when called upon to do so by a convention called for that purpose in the jurisdiction in which they were elected."

The third district had elected General George Stoneman, who had made a popular record as a Commissioner of Transportation under the old law. General Stoneman was a Democrat, and also had the Workingmen's nomination. The Democratic position on the railroad question, as expressed in the party platform, was this:

"That the railroad and other transportation corporations in California should be subject to State regulation of rates for passage and freight, in order that a material reduction shall be made; that unjust and discriminating rates shall not be imposed or extorted, and that the enforcement of the reduction should particularly apply to the railroad which had been subsidized."

Thus the members of the first Railroad Commission were unanimously committed, apparently with a solid popular backing, to a material reduction in rates. The only one, however, who seriously attempted to carry out this policy was General Stoneman. The reports of the majority of the Commission were filled with apologies for the existing rates, comparisons between Californian and Eastern conditions showing that the Central Pacific was treating the public quite as well as could be expected under the circumstances, and dissertations upon the complexity of the railroad problem, the need for patient investigation and study, the duty of preserving a calm and judicial attitude of mind, and the iniquity of yielding to popular clamor. No reductions were ordered which the company was not prepared, as a matter of business policy, to grant without the interference of the Commission.

I repeat that it is not my purpose to express any opinion regarding the merits of this course. I am merely discussing the efficiency of our usual governmental machinery as a means of getting popular desires translated into action.

In 1882 a new election was held. Commissioners Cone and Beerstecher disappeared from politics and were never heard of again. The Workingmen's party passed out of existence. Commissioner Stoneman, who had attempted to meet the public expectations, was promoted to the Governorship. The Democrats elected all three of the new Commissioners as well as all the Members of Congress and all the State officers. Thus far the American theory of government had worked according to the accepted rules. Three parties had been tested; two of them had disappointed the public and had been turned out; the third had been rewarded for its observance of its pledges by a complete grant of power; officials who had failed to keep their promises had been retired to private life, and the one who had retained the public confidence had been advanced to a higher place. The effect of this consistent application of rewards and punishments, according to the theory, should have been the prompt execution of the popular will by the newly elected officials.

The Democratic platform upon which the new Railroad Commissioners were elected, contained the following transportation plank:

"Resolved, That the railroad fares and freights should be materially reduced, discriminations in favor of localities or persons should be prohibited, and we condemn the majority of the Railroad Commissioners of this State for their faithlessness in the discharge of their official duties. The nominees of the Democratic party will, if elected, carry out in letter and spirit the declarations of this resolution, and relieve the people, to the extent of their jurisdiction, from the exactions and injustice now practiced with impunity by the railroad corporations."

The three Commissioners elected on this platform were G. J. Carpenter, W. P. Humphreys and W. W. Foote. Soon after their nomination, they availed themselves of a ratification meeting in San Francisco to express their personal concurrence in the views of the convention. In a letter from Placerville, Mr. Carpenter wrote:

"At the time of my nomination, I personally approved and endorsed the platform and resolutions adopted by the Democratic State Convention. Having read them carefully, I have regarded and now regard them as the latest and best declaration of Democratic principles, in their practical application to the living questions and imperative demands of the time. Thus regarded, for me, whether in private life or official station, they will be governing rules of action. Jeffersonian principles of government, made effective by Jacksonian firmness and fearlessness in their application, constitute the mode and measure of reform which the people at large are rightfully demanding

When they shall have given effect to their demands by a popular verdict at the ballot box, the pledge of the candidate will be verified by the oath of the officer.—For myself, I again reiterate my pledge of adherence to the platform and resolutions, especially those relating to the important and responsible position for which I am a candidate. If elected, it will become and be my duty to justify the confidence reposed in me, by making my office, to the extent of my ability, subserve the constitutional objects of its creation. In my office as a member and Speaker of a California Assembly, I was brought face to face with some of the questions at issue between the people and the transportation companies. In the appointment of committees, in the votes as recorded, touching these questions, my attitude can be clearly traced. They were in harmony with the popular sentiments of the times; they provoked the bitter hostility of the railroad companies, and I have not done anything since to reconcile differences with the corporations, or to forfeit the confidence or good opinion of the public."

At the same time Mr. Humphreys sent a letter in which he said, among other things:

"If I were to be guided by precedent, I would limit myself to a declaration that I favor the letter and spirit of the platform. However I reiterate the endorsement as expressed in my letter of June 27 to the State Central Committee. If I am elected, I shall endeavor to enforce the central idea embodied in the platform. So far as the Railroad Commission is concerned, I shall attempt to redress grievances, to prevent extortion and discrimination in the dealings between transportation companies and their patrons, whether as to persons or places, and to obtain such a modification and reduction of freight and passenger rates over the railways of the State as shall be just and equitable, and as shall meet the public expectation and approval. The convention at San José rejected resolutions looking to a general reduction of a specific percentage of freights and fares, and failed to act on another resolution, brought forward by some member, having for its object the ascertainment of the costs of roads and the adjustment of transportation charges, so as to allow the owners of the roads their operating expenses and a fair return for the use of the capital employed, not exceeding 6 per cent thereon. It seems to me that some such principle might have been properly engrafted on the platform. Had it been, it would have met my cordial approval. It suggests itself further that this idea furnishes a basis for a solution of a complicated problem, or rather, that upon that principle, a Railroad Commissioner may reach a scale of tariffs that will be just and relieve the public from the burdens and oppressions of which they now

complain. If I am elected, my first official efforts will proceed upon the theory here indicated, which I take to be in strict harmony with the anti-monopoly plank of the platform."

Mr. Foote expressed himself strongly to a similar effect, but as he did not subsequently change his views it is unnecessary to quote his expressions.

The Republican declarations on the railroad question were as decided as the Democratic. Thus the second Railroad Commission, like the first, took office, backed by an apparently unanimous popular demand for the reduction of fares and freights and the abolition of discriminations. But its career was a repetition of that of its predecessor. A minority of one—Mr. Foote—attempted to carry out the promises of the Democratic platform. The majority—Mr. Carpenter and Mr. Humphreys—followed the example set by Messrs. Cone and Beerstecher. Nominal reductions in rates, of a nature satisfactory to the company were ordered, and the reports of the Commission were turned into briefs in defence of the railroad and in denunciation of its opponents. Public feeling was so aroused that in 1884, Governor Stoneman called an extra session of the Legislature for the purpose, among other things, of submitting to the people a constitutional amendment changing the method of electing the Railroad Commission. As usual, the corporation found no difficulty in controlling the Legislature, although it had been elected as a distinctly anti-monopoly body, and nothing was done. The Democrats had entire possession of the State government, and when their State convention met in the same year, it formally read out of the party the various State officials and legislators who had aided the railroad. With regard to the majority of the Railroad Commission, it said :

"Resolved, That we are not unmindful of the conduct of certain Democratic officers and legislators who co-operated with the Republicans at the late extra session in frustrating the will of the people and antagonizing the true interests of the State. That while no amount of care can at all times prevent the intrusion into politics of faithless men, who enter with a false pledge upon their lips merely to ruin and betray—yet the party becomes responsible for the conduct of such recreant members only when, having discovered them, it fails to condemn their course ; that it is the duty of a party, if it be true to itself and the people, to expel from its ranks and denounce as unworthy of public trust and lost to all sense of honor, traitors and pledge-breakers. Therefore we do now denounce Railroad Commissioners Carpenter and Humphreys, who have broken their pledges with reference to freight and fare reductions."

The names of other condemned officials followed, and the convention recommended the adoption of constitutional amendment, vacating the places of the Railroad Commissioners, authorizing temporary appointments by the Governor to fill the vacancies, and providing for a new mode of election thereafter.

All this proved a waste of breath. The "read-out" officers showed no signs of contrition, and the subsequent reports of Commissioners Carpenter and Humphreys were blasts of defiance against the "demagogues" who continued to hold the same views on the railroad question which they had expressed before their election. They retained their places until the end of their terms, when they disappeared from view and were never heard of in politics again.

By this time the people had become weary of a futile agitation, which had been prolonged with little intermission for nearly twenty years, and settled into an apathy which lasted during the greater part of the next two terms. The Republicans controlled the Railroad Commission during this period, and the attempt to make it fulfill the purpose of its creation was frankly abandoned. But in 1894 the anti-monopoly spirit revived again, stimulated by the approaching maturity of the Pacific Railroad debts to the government, and by the time the Democratic State Convention met, it was blazing as hotly as ever. The Democratic platform was devoted almost exclusively to the railroad question. Upon the subject of local rates it said:

"WHEREAS, the State of California pays eighty per cent of the gross earnings of the Southern Pacific Railroad system, said gross earnings aggregating \$48,000,000 annually; therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the charges for the transportation of freights in California by the Southern Pacific Company of Kentucky and its leased lines in California should be subjected to an average reduction of not less than twenty-five per cent, and we pledge our nominees for Railroad Commissioners to make this reduction, so justly demanded by the people.

"We pledge our candidates for the Railroad Commission to reduce the number of freight classifications one-half, and that during their term of office they shall pursue their official labor unhampered by the demand of any other business or avocation; and we further pledge them to initiate needed reforms in the freight schedules and classification without a formal complaint being filed."

On this platform the Democrats elected two out of the three new Railroad Commissioners. One of them, Mr. H. M. La Rue, had been known as a consistent and aggressive anti-monopolist since the first intrusion of the railroad question into the politics of California. In addition to the Democratic nomination, he had received that of the Traffic Association, an organization of merchants established expressly to secure better terms for shippers. He was also a member of the sub-committee which framed the railroad plank of the Democratic platform, and expressed his desire at the time for even greater reductions in rates than those which were promised. The other, Dr. J. I. Stanton, bound himself in the most explicit manner to carry out the promises of the platform, and the friend who placed him in nomination declared that it was his desire to give his life, if necessary, "to down the corporation."

For over seven months after taking office, the new Commissioners remained quiescent. Then Mr. La Rue introduced a resolution reducing rates on grain. Dr. Stanton joined the Republican Commissioner in opposing it, urging delay and investigation, and employing precisely the same arguments that had been advanced by Cone and Beerstecher fifteen years before. It seemed evident that for the rest of its term, the present Commission would consist of a minority of one in favor of reductions and a majority of two against them, just as in the case of its earliest predecessors. The pressure was so great, however, that Commissioners Stanton and Clark surprised the public by suddenly consenting to a reduction of 8 per cent in grain rates, which, with the previous reduction voluntarily made by the company, made a total cut of 18 or 19 per cent since last year's election. Mr. Stanton also proposed a resolution, which was adopted by his vote and that of Mr. La Rue, announcing the intention of the Board to reduce the rates on commodities in general 25 per cent, and work on such a revised schedule has been begun. Opinions differ as to the meaning of this change of attitude. As the railroad has taken advantage of the wording of the Stanton resolution to declare its determination to contest the proposed reductions in the courts, some assert that there never has been any intention of making reductions that could be enforced, while others hold that the Commission has acted in good faith.

However this may be the curious fact remains that a body created sixteen years ago for the sole purpose of curbing a single railroad corporation with a strong hand, was found to be uniformly, without a break, during all that period its apologist and defender. Not a single majority report has ever issued from the office of the Railroad Commission of a nature unsatisfactory to the company the Commission was established to control. Until September of the present year, the net result of the popular agitation for the new constitution in 1879, and of the various anti-monopoly agitations since, had been the creation of a new Southern Pacific literary bureau maintained at public expense. And nobody expects the future history of the Commission to differ from its past. The most sanguine believers in the sincerity of the present Commissioners do not regard the position they have just assumed as anything but an exceptional aberration. If it shall turn out that the company has no control over the majority of the present Board, it is universally believed that it will make no such slips with regard to their successors.

It may be that in this divergence between official conduct and popular expectations, the Commissioners have always been in the right. All I am concerned to point out here is that a system of

government under which the people find it impossible to secure the execution of their wishes, whether right or wrong, except at rare intervals, cannot, with strict accuracy, be called democratic. The value of this illustration lies in the fact that it is of general application. In every State and city, as well as in the nation, officers are elected for fixed terms and the voters have no further control of them or their actions. The theory is that responsibility is secured by the fact that the officials must come before the people for re-election at the ends of their terms, but it would be easy to multiply instances of the impotence of this form of regulation.

To recur to the illustration chosen as the subject of this paper, only one Railroad Commissioner in California has ever been re-elected, and his second election occurred in the middle of a period of profound discouragement and apathy, and in a district in which his party had normally an immense majority, which was still further strengthened by a "tidal wave" in the State. Yet the certainty of political extinction at the end of four years has had no deterrent effect upon officials with views opposed to those of the public.

The only thing that can insure the rule of the majority is continuous responsibility. The President can depend upon having his financial policy carried out by the Secretary of the Treasury, because, if the Secretary should attempt to set up his own views against those of his chief, he could be instantly removed. If the Railroad Commissioners of California, instead of being elected for four years, had been appointed by the Governor, to hold office during the pleasure of the appointing power, their policy could have been kept in harmony with that of the Governor. If the Governor had been subject to removal by the Legislature, he and all his subordinates would have had to be prepared at any time to meet legislative criticism. If, finally, every member of the Legislature had held his seat at the pleasure of his constituents, before whom he would have to justify his actions on demand upon pain of immediate recall, the people would have exercised a continuous and effective control over every branch of the government. If mistakes had been committed, they would have been the people's mistakes, and would have had an educating value which could not attach to the faults of irresponsible officials.

Democracy has many faults of its own to answer for, but it should not be charged with the misconduct of officials in America. It is precisely because our system of government is not democratic that the particular evils that are the favorite subjects for criticism have been able to exist.

S. E. MOFFETT.

San Francisco.

PERSONAL NOTES.

AMERICA.

Chicago University.—Mr. Carlos Carleton Closson has been appointed Instructor in Political Economy at the University of Chicago. He was born at Lawrence, Mass., on October 8, 1869, and in his youth attended the public schools of his native town. He then entered Phillips Academy at Andover, Mass., and afterward Harvard University. He graduated from Harvard in 1892 with the degree of A. B. He pursued graduate studies at Harvard for the ensuing three years, receiving in 1893 the degree of A. M. During 1892-93, Mr. Closson held a Paine Scholarship in Social Science, the next year he held a Paine Resident Fellowship in Social Science,* and last year he held a non-resident Fellowship in Social Science.† He has written:

"*The Unemployed in American Cities.*" Quarterly Journal of Economics. Part I, January, 1894; Part II, July, 1894.

Dr. Oliver J. Thatcher ‡ has been advanced to Associate Professor of History in the University Extension Department of Chicago University. Professor Thatcher will spend the coming year at work in Berlin, having a year's leave of absence. He has written together with Dr. Ferdinand Schwill:

"*A History of Europe During the Middle Ages,*" which is now on press.

Mr. George E. Vincent § has been advanced from Assistant to Instructor in Sociology at the University of Chicago. He has recently written:

"*A Scheme of Sociological Study.*" Education Review, December, 1894.

Mr. Charles Zeublin has been advanced to Assistant Professor of Sociology in the University Extension Department of the University of Chicago. Professor Zeublin was born on May 4, 1866, at Pendleton, Madison Co., Ind. His early education was obtained in public schools of Philadelphia. He entered the University of Pennsylvania with the Class of '85, but left after the Junior year. He went to the Northwestern University and graduated in 1887 with the degree of Ph. B.

* See ANNALS, Vol. iv, p. 315, September, 1893.

† See ANNALS, Vol. v, p. 284, September, 1894.

‡ See ANNALS, Vol. iv, p. 648, January, 1894.

§ See ANNALS, Vol. v, p. 276, September, 1894.

In 1889 he received the degree of B. D. from Yale. From 1889 to 1891 he studied at the University of Leipzig. The year 1891-92 Mr. Zeublin was Secretary of the Chicago Society for University Extension and Resident-Secretary of the Northwestern University Settlement Association. The next year he became Instructor in History at the University of Chicago and Secretary of the Class Work and Examination Departments in the Extension Division. The summer of 1895 he spent in work in England.

Professor Zeublin is a member of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. He has written :

"*Ethics of the Jewish Question.*" International Journal of Ethics, July, 1892.

"*The Social Settlement in Judaism at the World's Parliament of Religions.*" Cincinnati, 1894.

"*The Chicago Ghetto.*" Chapter in "Hull House Maps and Papers." New York, 1895.

Colgate University.—Mr. Charles Worthen Spencer has been appointed Associate Professor of History and Political Economy at Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. Professor Spencer was born at Foxboro, Norfolk Co., Mass., on November 16, 1870. His early education was obtained in the public schools of his native place and of Waterville, Me., and at the Coburn Classical Institute of Waterville. In 1886 he entered Colby University and graduated in 1890 with the degree of A. B. From 1890 to 1892 he was Instructor in History and Science at the Hebron (Me.) Academy. The following two years he held an Honorary Fellowship in the Department of Social Science of the University of Chicago, and devoted his time to post-graduate study. He was also during 1893, Assistant in the Department of Charities and Corrections of the World's Columbian Exposition. During the past year Mr. Spencer continued his studies at Columbia College.

He is a member of the American Economic Association and has written:

"*Chicago as a Sociological Laboratory.*" Current Topics, April, 1893.

Columbia College.—Mr. Harry Alonzo Cushing has been appointed Prize Lecturer on History at Columbia College, and Assistant in History at Barnard College. Mr. Cushing was born at Lynn, Mass., on September 15, 1870. In his youth he attended the Boston Latin School and the Holyoke (Mass.) High School. In 1887 he entered Amherst College and graduated in 1891 with the degree of A. B. From 1891 to 1893 Mr. Cushing was Instructor in History and Latin at the Beloit

College Academy, Beloit, Wis. The past two years he spent in graduate study at Columbia College; during 1894-95 he held a University Fellowship in History.* In 1894 Mr. Cushing received the degree of A. M. from Columbia.

He is a member of the American Academy of Political and Social Science and of the American Economic Association.

Indiana University.—Mr. Samuel Bannister Harding has been appointed Assistant Professor of European History at the University of Indiana. Mr. Harding was born on July 29, 1866, at Indianapolis, Ind. His early education was obtained in the public schools of that city. In 1887 he entered the University of Indiana and graduated in 1890 with the degree of A. B. A portion of the following year he spent in post-graduate study at Cornell. He left there in February, 1891, to become Teacher of History and Geography in the Workingman's School, conducted by the Society of Ethical Culture in New York City. After two years and a half in this school, he began in 1893 post-graduate study at Harvard and continued there until this year, receiving in 1894 the degree of A. M.

Professor Harding is a member of the American Historical Association. He has written:

"*The Minimum Principle in the Tariff of 1828 and its Recent Revival.*" ANNALS, July, 1895.

"*Party Struggles over the First Pennsylvania State Constitution, 1776-1790.*" Papers of the American Historical Association. (In press.)

Dr. Ulysses G. Weatherly has been appointed Assistant Professor of European and American History at Indiana University. He was born at Indianapolis on April 21, 1865, and obtained his early education in the public schools and at Pillsbury Academy. In 1886 he entered Colgate University and graduated in 1890 with the degree of A. B. He became Principal of Marathon Academy, N. Y., but left in 1891 to take up post-graduate work at Cornell (1891-93) and Heidelberg and Leipzig (1893-94). In 1894 Mr. Weatherly received the degree of Ph. D.† from Cornell. During the past year he was Instructor in History in the Philadelphia Central High School. He has written:

"*Louis VI., the Founder of the French Monarchy.*" Hamilton, N. Y., 1890.

"*Evolution as Related to Historical Studies.*" Madisonensis, May, 1892.

"*Lichtenstein, a Miniature European State.*" Cornell Magazine, March, 1894.

* See ANNALS, Vol. v, p. 284, September, 1894.

† Ibid., p. 282.

Leland Stanford Jr. University.—Professor Harry Huntington Powers,* of Smith College, has been elected Professor of Economics at the Leland Stanford Jr. University. At the sixth annual meeting of the American Economic Association held at Chicago in September, 1893, he was chosen chairman of the Publication Committee of the American Economic Association, a position he still retains. He has recently written:

"*Terminology and the Sociological Conference.*" *ANNALS*, March, 1895.

"*Sociology in Schools and Colleges.*" *Proceedings of the Conference of Charities and Correction.* (In press.)

University of Michigan.—Mr. Jesse Francis Orton has been appointed Assistant in Political Economy at the University of Michigan. Mr. Orton was born at Lewiston, Niagara County, N. Y., on February 23, 1870. He attended public schools at Pekin and Lockport, N. Y., and Coldwater, Mich. In 1889 he entered the University of Michigan, remaining there during 1888-89 and 1891-93, and receiving in 1893 the degree of A. B. During 1893-94 Mr. Orton was engaged in private study and teaching in New York City. The past year he held a Fellowship in Political Economy and Finance† at Cornell University, and received in June, 1895, the degree of A. M. He has written:

"*Monetary Standards.*" *Journal of Political Economy*, June, 1895.

University of Pennsylvania.—Mr. Merrick Whitcomb has been appointed Instructor in European History at the University of Pennsylvania. Mr. Whitcomb was born January 10, 1859, at Nunda, Livingston County, N. Y., and prepared for college at the academy of his native place and the Chelsea (Mass.) high school. He graduated with the degree of A. B. from Harvard University in 1880, and has pursued graduate studies in history at Leipzig (1881-82); Johns Hopkins (1892-93), and the University of Pennsylvania (1893-94). In the past academic year, 1894-95, he was Instructor in History and Economics at the Highland Park Normal College, at Des Moines, Ia.

Syracuse University.—Professor John R. Commons‡ has been appointed to the Chair of Sociology at Syracuse University. He has recently written:

"*Proportional Representation.*" *ANNALS*, March, 1892.

"*Proportional Representation.*" *Review of Reviews*, December, 1892.

* See *ANNALS*, Vol. iv, p. 165, July, 1893.

† See *ANNALS*, Vol. v, p. 284, September, 1894.

‡ See *ANNALS*, Vol. iii, p. 238, September, 1892.

"*Distribution of Wealth.*" Pp. 258. New York, 1893.

"*Social Reform and the Church.*" Pp. 176. New York, 1894.

"*State Supervision for Cities.*" ANNALS, May, 1895.

"*Progressive Individualism.*" American Magazine of Civics, July, 1895.

At the time of its organization (July, 1893), he was elected secretary of the American Institute of Christian Sociology.

University of Tennessee.—Mr. Charles Willard Turner, formerly Lecturer on History at the University of Tennessee, will hereafter have full charge of the work in History and Civil Government. Professor Turner was born on February 23, 1844, at Boston, Mass. His early education was obtained at the public schools of Newton, Mass. In 1861 he entered Amherst College and graduated in 1865 with the degree of A. B. In 1892 he received the degree of A. M. from Amherst. After leaving college he engaged in the practice of law in Boston, devoting his spare time to the study of history and institutions. During 1891 he spent five months in similar study at the British Museum and the London Guildhall. In 1892 he was appointed Associate Professor of Law in the Law Department of the University of Tennessee and in 1893 Lecturer on History in the Academic Department.

University of Wisconsin.—Dr. Edward David Jones has been appointed Assistant in Statistics and Economics at the University of Wisconsin. He was born at Oxford, Rock Co., Wis., on May 15, 1870. In his youth he attended the public schools of Oshkosh, Wis. In 1887 Mr. Jones entered Lawrence University at Appleton, Wis., where he remained two years. He entered, in 1889, the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, O., and graduated in 1892 with the degree of B. S. The ensuing three years he spent in post-graduate study, first at the University of Wisconsin (1892-93), then at Halle and Berlin (1893-94), and finally at the University of Wisconsin (1894-95), from which institution he received the degree of Ph. D.* in June, 1895. Dr. Jones has written:

"*The Relation of Economic Crises to Erroneous and Defective Legislation.*" Pp. 50. Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters. Vol. X.

IN ADDITION to those previously mentioned,† the following student received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy for work in political and social science and allied subjects during the past year :

* See ANNALS, Vol. vi, p. 302, September, 1895.

† *Ibid.*, p. 300.

University of Minnesota—Elizabeth H. Avery, A. B., A. M. Thesis : *The Influence of French Immigration on the Political History of the United States.*

IN ADDITION to those previously mentioned,* the following appointment to a post-graduate scholarship has been made for the year 1895-96 :

Dartmouth College—*Scholarship in Political and Social Science*, Roland Eugene Stevens, A. B.

AUSTRIA.

Vienna.—Dr. Julius G. Landesberger has recently become Privat-docent for Political Economy at the University of Vienna. He was born March 4, 1865, at Lemberg, Galicia, and he received his early education at the Schotten gymnasium at Vienna. He studied law and political science at Vienna, 1882-86, at Strasburg, 1889, and at Berlin, 1892-93. In 1888 he secured the degree of Doctor Juris at the University of Vienna, and has since been engaged in the practice of the law. Dr. Landesberger is a member of the British Economic Association, the Verein für Sozialpolitik and the Gesellschaft der Volkswirthe in Vienna. Besides shorter essays in the *Zeitschrift für privat und öffentliches Recht*, the *Wiener Volkswirtschaftlichen Wochenschrift*, etc., he has written :

"*Ueber die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Rechtsstaates.*" Vienna, 1889.

"*Währungssystem und Relation,*" Beiträge zur Währungsreform in Oesterreich-Ungarn." Pp. 192. Vienna, 1891.

"*Ueber die Goldprämiienpolitik der Zettelbanken.*" Pp. 90. Vienna, 1892.

"*The German Silver Commission.*" Economic Journal, March, 1895.

ENGLAND.

London.—Friederich Engels, the distinguished socialist agitator and author, died at London, August 5, 1895. He was born at Barmen, November 28, 1820, and was engaged as a clerk from 1837-38 in Barmen, and from 1838-41 at Bremen. After discharging his military duties, he entered the business of his father at Manchester where he remained until 1844. From 1845-48 he lived in Brussels with Karl Marx, with long visits to Paris. From 1848 until May, 1849, he was connected with the *Neuen Rheinische Zeitung*, published at Cologne.

* *Ibid.*, p. 303.

He took part in the South German uprising of the year 1849 as Adjutant of Willich's Volunteers. He then returned to London, but in 1850 entered anew his father's business house as clerk, becoming a partner in 1864, withdrawing in 1869. Since 1870 he has resided in London. His works are:

"*Umrisse zu einer Kritik der Nationalökonomie.*" Deutsch-französischen Jahrbücher, Paris, 1844.

"*Die heilige Familie, oder Kritik der kritischen Kritik. Gegen Bruno Bauer und Konsorten.*" Von F. E. und K. (arl) M. (arx.) Frankfurt, 1844.

"*Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England.*" Leipzig, 1845.

"*Manifesto of the Communistic Party.*" Anon. with Marx 1848 (German, French, Italian, Spanish, Russian, Danish and Polish).

"*Po und Rhein*" (anon.). Berlin, 1859.

"*Savoyen, Nizza und Rhein*" (anon.). Berlin, 1860.

"*Die preussische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei.*" Hamburg, 1865.

"*Der deutsche Bauernkrieg.*" Leipzig, 3d ed., 1875.

"*Zur Wohnungsfrage.*" 1st ed., Leipzig, 1872, 2d, Zürich, 1887.

"*Soziales aus Russland.*" Leipzig, 1875.

"*Preussischer Schnapps im deutschen Reichstag*" (anon.). Leipzig, 1876.

"*Die Bakunisten an der Arbeit. Denkschrift über den Aufstand in Spanien.*" Leipzig, 1874.

"*Herrn Eugen Dührings Umwälzung der Wissenschaft.*" 1st ed., Leipzig, 1878, 2d, Zürich, 1885.

"*Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft.*" 1st, 2d, 3d ed., Zürich, 1883, 4th ed., Berlin, 1891. (Also in French, Russian, Polish, Italian, Spanish, Roumanian, Dutch and Danish.)

"*Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats.*" Im Anschluss an Lewis H. Morgan's Forschungen. Zürich, 1884, 4th ed., Stuttgart, 1891. (Also in French, Italian, Roumanian and Danish.)

"*Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der klassischen deutschen Philosophie.*" Stuttgart, 1888.

"*Die Auswärtige Politik des russischen Zarentums.*" Neue Zeit, VIII, 1889-90. (Also in Russian, English, French, Roumanian.)

"*Ueber den Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich.*" Neue Zeit, IX, 1890-91.

"*In Sachen Brentano contra Marx wegen angeblichen Citats-fälschung. Geschichtserzählung und Dokumente.*" Hamburg, 1891.

He edited also several editions of the works of Marx, furnishing prefaces to them and wrote in the English edition of his "Condition

of the Working Classes in England," published in New York, 1887, an appendix on the "*Working Class Movement in America*."

Mr. W. A. S. Hewins, who has been appointed Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science,* was born 1865 at Wolverhampton, where he enjoyed his early education. In 1883 he was elected to the Sir Stephen Jenyns scholarship and in 1884 to a mathematical scholarship in Pembroke College, Oxford. In 1887 he secured his B. A., with first class in honors moderations, and second class in the final honor school of mathematics. In 1893 he received the degree of M. A. Since February, 1888, he has been a lecturer in the Oxford University Extension movement, and from 1888 to 1890 was the first Organizing Secretary of the Oxford Summer Meeting of University Extension Students. He is Lecturer on Economic History at Pembroke College, and in 1891 was Lecturer on Political Economy at University College, Bristol, while in 1895 he was appointed Lecturer on Sociology at Manchester College, Oxford. Mr. Hewins is a contributor to the *Economic Journal* and *Economic Review*, and has edited the "Whiteford Papers," letters and documents illustrating the literary and political history of the eighteenth century. He is now engaged in the preparation of "Select Documents Illustrating the State Regulation of Wages." His other writings are:

"*A History of the National Debt*." Co-operative Annual, 1889.

"*English Trade and Finance in Seventeenth Century*." 1892.

Biographies of Gerard Malques, Edward Misselden, Thomas Milles, Edward Vansittart Neale, William Newmarch, Richard Oastler, William Parr, William Patterson and many others in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

"*A History of Economics before Adam Smith*," and other articles in the "Dictionary of Political Economy."

"*Industry and Commerce in the Fifteenth Century*." Traill's "Social England."

"*History of Pauperism*." *Ibid*.

GERMANY.

Berlin.—Dr. Rudolf von Gneist, Professor of Public Law at the University of Berlin, died July 22, 1895. He was born August 13, 1816, at Berlin, and had his preparatory education at the gymnasium of Eisleben. After pursuing legal studies at the University of Berlin during 1833-36 and securing the degree of Doctor Juris, he entered the judicial career. In 1844 he was appointed extraordinary, and in

* See ANNALS, Vol. vi, p. 283, September, 1895.

1858 ordinary professor at the University of Berlin. In 1850 he abandoned his judicial duties to devote himself to his university career. He was a member of the Prussian Landtag from 1858 to 1893 and took a prominent part in the constitutional struggles of the decade 1860 to 1870. He contributed frequently to the periodical press, wrote a number of articles for the "*Rechtslexikon*," of Holtzendorff and the "*Staatslexikon*" of Bluntschli, and in connection with Dr. Victor Böhmert edited the periodical *Der Arbeiterfreund*. Professor von Gneist was the recipient of honorary degrees from the Universities of Berlin, Bonn and Cambridge. His principal works are:

"*Die formellen Verträge der neueren römischen Obligationsrechts*," Berlin, 1845.

"*Ueber die Bildung der Geschworenengerichte*," Berlin, 1849.

"*Adel und Ritterschaft in England*," Berlin, 1853.

"*Englisches Verwaltungsrecht*." Two Vols. Berlin, 1857-63. 3d edition in 1883.

"*Syntagma Institutionum*," Leipzig, 1858.

"*Freie Advokatur*," Berlin, 1867.

"*Die confessionnelle Schule*," Berlin, 1869.

"*Verwaltung, Justiz, Rechtsweg*," Berlin, 1869.

"*Die Selbstverwaltung der Volksschule*," Berlin, 1869.

"*Die preussische Kreisordnung*," Berlin, 1870.

"*Englisches Self-government*," Berlin, 1871.

"*Der Rechtsstaat*," Berlin, 1872.

"*Vier Fragen zur deutschen Strafprocessordnung*," Berlin, 1875.

"*Gesetz und Budget*," Berlin, 1879.

"*Zur Verwaltungsreform in Preussen*," Leipzig, 1880.

"*Die preussische Finanzreform*," Berlin, 1881.

"*Englische Verfassungsgeschichte*," Berlin, 1882.

"*Das Englische Parlament in 100-jährigen Wandlungen*," Berlin, 1885.

Marburg.—Professor Karl Rathgen,* who was appointed Extraordinary Professor of Political Economy at Marburg in 1893, has recently been advanced to the grade of Ordinary Professor. The following is to be added to the bibliography, which has already appeared in the ANNALS:

"*Die Frage der Ländlichen Arbeiter und der inneren Kolonisation*," Schmoller's Jahrbuch, 1864.

The celebrated historian of the German Empire, Dr. Heinrich von Sybel, the Director of the Prussian State Archives, died suddenly at Marburg on the first of August, 1895. He was born in Düsseldorf

* See ANNALS, Vol. iv, p. 654, January, 1894.

December 2, 1817, studied history at Berlin, and in 1841 established himself as Privatdocent in Bonn, where in the same year he became Professor of History. In 1846 he was called to Marburg, in 1856 to Munich. In 1861 he returned to Bonn, where he remained until 1875, when he accepted the directorship of the Prussian State Archives. Professor von Sybel took an active part in politics, having been a member of the Hessian Diet, 1848-49, the *Erfurter Staatenhaus*, 1852, the Prussian Diet, 1862-64, 1870-80, and in 1867 of the Reichstag of the North German Confederation. In addition to the works below mentioned v. Sybel superintended the publication of the Prussian Archives, and the publication of the political correspondence of Frederick the Great. His greatest work on "The Foundation of the German Empire," was largely based on the material contained in the Prussian Archives. The last two supplementary volumes, however, do not contain any of this material, as the permission to use the archives was withdrawn after the retirement of Bismarck. His principal works are :

"*Die Entstehung des deutschen Königthum.*" Frankfurt, 1845.

"*Geschichte der Revolutionszeit von 1789 bis 1795.*" Düsseldorf, 1853-57.

"*Die Erhebung Europas gegen Napoleon.*" Munich, 1860.

"*Kleine historische Schriften.*" Two Vols. Munich, 1863-69.

"*Klerikale Politik im XIXten Jahrhundert.*" Bonn, 1874.

"*Die Begründung des deutschen Reiches unter Wilhelm I.*"

Strassburg. — Privatdocent Dr. George von Mayr* has been appointed Ordinary Honorary Professor of Statistics at the University of Strassburg. In his *Allgemeine Statistisches Archiv*, Dr. von Mayr has in recent years published a large number of important articles. He has also published in book form :

"*Statistik und Gesellschaftslehre.*" Vol. I. "*Theoretische Statistik.*" Pp. 202. Freiburg, 1895.

* See ANNALS, Vol. II., p. 257, September, 1891.

BOOK DEPARTMENT.

REVIEWS.

Verfassung des deutschen Reichs, mit Einleitung und Kommentar.
Von Dr. ADOLF ARNDT, Professor of Law in the University of
Halle. Pp. 339. Berlin: J. Guttentag, 1895.

Professor Arndt has done the students of public law a substantial service in this edition of the German Federal Constitution. The book is divided into four parts; the first consists of the text of the German Federal Constitution in its present form; the second part contains a brief history of the foundation of the North German Confederation and the establishment of the German Empire, also a brief discussion of the constitutional nature of the German Empire, including the relation between the federal government and the individual States; the third part contains a commentary upon the text of the federal constitution, taking up each clause separately in the order in which they stand in the instrument; the fourth part contains a copy of the various treaties between the North German Confederation and the South German States in regard to their entrance into the North German Confederation and its conversion into the German Empire, followed by the text of the law of June 1, 1870, relating to federal and State citizenship.

A legal instrument like the federal constitution of Germany, which may be practically amended by a law containing no reference to the fact that it does change the constitution, is in special need of a careful commentary. The editor has in this case introduced into the body of the constitution the changes which have been made without any indication in the text, as printed at the beginning of the book, that such changes have been made, or of the time at which they were made. Thus, the constitution, as agreed upon in the first instance, enumerates the States which constituted the German Empire at the time of the adoption of the constitution. The editor adds the island of Heligoland which became a part of the German Empire December 15, 1890, and a part of Prussia February 18, 1891, and adds also the imperial territory Alsace-Lorraine. Article XXIV, defining the legislative period for which the Reichstag is chosen, provided originally that it should be for three years. This was altered by an amendment

to the constitution March 19, 1888, to five years. The text of Dr. Arndt gives five years with no indication that it had ever been anything else.

There are some conveniences, of course, in such an edition of the constitution, as one can tell exactly what provisions are in force at a given time without the difficulty of comparing the original wording of the text with the present wording; but it is on the whole an undesirable arrangement for the student of politics. It would have been much clearer to the foreign student if the original text had been printed, and then the changes made in the constitution by formal amendments to the instrument itself, and finally, the changes made in the instrument by laws which change its meaning, even though they are not, formally speaking, amendments to the instrument itself. Nor is the editor quite consistent with himself in the plan which he adopts, for when he comes to print the individual paragraphs, to be followed by notes and commentary, he allows the first article to stand as it was in the original instrument, whereas Article XXIV he prints with the modifications mentioned above. This procedure may be justified by the fact that the latter took the shape of a formal amendment, while the change in Article I was effected by treaty and laws which took no regard of the language of the federal instrument; but, in any case, it would have been much clearer if the reason for such a method had been given.

The comment of the editor upon Article V is interesting and significant. This article* declares that "the legislative power of the empire shall be exercised by the Federal Council and the Diet. A majority of the votes of both bodies shall be necessary and sufficient for an imperial law." This would seem to imply, on the face of it, that if the two bodies agree upon a bill, this agreement should be equivalent to its passage. Professor Arndt takes the ground that this means nothing more than that such agreement shall be sufficient to determine the form of the bill, and that before it can become a law, the Federal Council must send the bill through the Imperial Chancellor to the Emperor, whose duty it is to prepare and publish the laws of the Empire,† and that the Federal Council need not send such a bill to the Emperor, even though it may have proposed the bill itself to the Reichstag, and the latter had accepted it without change. He seems to consider this act of sending the bill to the Emperor as the final sanction of the law, agreeing in this point with some of the most prominent German publicists. He does not allow,

* Compare "Federal Constitution of Germany." Translated by EDMUND J. JAMES. Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1890, p. 21.

† Compare Article XVII, James, "Federal Constitution," p. 25.

however, that the power of the Emperor to prepare and publish the laws of the empire, gives him any right to refuse to do so, and thereby practically exercise a veto upon imperial legislation.*

Commenting upon the distribution of votes in the Federal Council among the various States, the editor introduces a quotation from a speech by Prince Bismarck in the Constitutional Diet of 1867. Prince Bismarck calls attention in that speech to the fact that in distributing these votes, there was a declared intention of disregarding entirely the element of population of the different States. This is a circumstance which foreign students of the German constitution find it hard to appreciate. Even such an authority as Professor Bryce states in his "American Commonwealth" (last edition), that the votes in the Federal Council are distributed among the States on the basis of population.

The peculiar character of the German federal constitution and the way in which agreements among the different States may determine the meaning of the instrument, are well illustrated by Article VIII relating to the committees of the Federal Council. This prescribes that the Emperor shall appoint the members of the committee on the Army and Fortifications, except that Bavaria shall have one member on that committee. This of itself is a peculiar feature, that a committee of a legislative body should be appointed by some authority outside of the body itself, or, that the right should be reserved to one of the States of always having a representative upon a given committee. But the Emperor, by military agreements with Saxony and Wurtemberg, has bound himself to give to each of these States also a representative on this committee, thereby limiting, through a private agreement his constitutional power as Emperor of Germany. There are many other illustrations of the same sort in the constitutional system of the empire.

The commentary of the editor upon the third clause in Article VIII is extremely unsatisfactory because it conveys no idea to one who does not know the fact, of the peculiar function of the committee on Foreign Affairs.

The editor's comment upon Article LXXVIII, relating to amendments to the constitution, is significant and characteristic. That article † declares that amendments to the constitution shall be made by legislative enactment; they shall be considered as rejected when fourteen votes are cast against them in the Federal Council. The author declares that by amendments to the constitution, are to be

* See "The Constitutional Position of Prussia in the German Empire." By EDMUND J. JAMES. *Nation*, April 26, 1888, New York.

† Compare James, "Federal Constitution," p. 43.

understood only formal changes in the instrument itself; not changes in existing constitutional law. The latter kind of change may, it is to be presumed, be made by a simple law without any reference to the restrictive provision of this section. He also declares that the ceding to Prussia of administrative powers by the other States, is not to be considered a change in the constitution. Nor, is an agreement on the part of the Emperor, by which he binds himself toward individual States, to use his constitutional powers only in certain ways, to be considered a change in the constitution.

Professor Arndt implies that it is the business of the Emperor to decide whether a law changing the constitution, has been passed in the Federal Council by the requisite majority. If this is true, it practically gives to the Emperor a veto upon all legislation which he regards as in conflict with the constitution, and for which, in his opinion, the number of votes requisite for a constitutional change has not been cast, which seems to stand in conflict with the view mentioned above, that the Emperor has not a veto power.

The book will be found a useful addition to the literature relating to the imperial constitution of Germany. The author, in his brief discussion, shows a much greater familiarity with English and American constitutional law than most German authorities on public law.

EDMUND J. JAMES.

Life and Labour of the People in London. Vols. V and VI.
 Edited by CHARLES BOOTH. Pp. 416. Price, \$3 each. London and
 New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895.

Since the review of the second volume of this great work appeared in the ANNALS* the matter contained in that and the preceding volume has been rearranged and published in four volumes, so that the present volumes, though numbered V and VI, are a direct continuation of the two volumes previously noticed. The first three books analyze and describe the population of the metropolis in respect to degree of poverty or wealth and the character of the homes, the fourth treats of East London Industries, while the fifth and sixth volumes, together with the seventh, which is soon to follow, analyze the whole population in respect to employment and conditions of labor.

After the introduction by the editor, each chapter of the two volumes before us is credited to one of Mr. Booth's assistants, of whom all but two were contributors to the preceding volumes. But the uniformity of style and method of treatment reveal the editor's

*Vol. ii, p. 854, May, 1892.

directing hand throughout the work. Volume V describes (*a*) The Building Trades, (*b*) Wood Workers, (*c*) Metal Workers. Volume VI takes up (*a*) Precious Metals, Watches and Instruments, (*b*) Sundry Manufactures, (*c*) Printing and Paper Trades, and (*d*) The Textile Trades. These groups are made up of separate trades each of which is given detailed treatment in accord with the following schedule:

1. A diagram displaying the condition of the trade in respect to the ages of those employed.
2. A set of statistical tables giving the number of people connected with the trade by individuals and by families, analyzed according to sex, geographical location, birthplace, industrial status (employer or employed), and style of living (the number of rooms occupied or the number of servants employed).
3. A technical description of the trade and its subdivisions.
4. The conditions of employment.
5. Organization.
6. Wages.
7. Social condition.

The statistical studies are based for the most part upon the occupation returns of the census of 1891. The enumeration for the first time covered the number of rooms occupied by each household, and to insure accurate returns Mr. Booth took much personal care in seeing that the census enumerators were properly instructed in respect to the new schedules.

Mr. Booth's well-known classification of the people of London into categories named by the letters of the alphabet from A to H, was based upon the impression made by the character of the homes on the school board visitors and others. For the use of census enumerators some more palpable indication of economic standing was evidently required. In the present volume, therefore, we have a new classification of the population according to the number of rooms occupied on the part of the lower classes and the number of servants kept on the part of the upper classes, compared with the size of the families. This artificial test of economic and social standing is recognized as very fallible when applied to particular families, but variations off-set each other so that it is considered reliable when applied to large sections of municipal populations, and the results of the new enumeration are found to agree well with the former estimates of the social classes of London.

The detailed accounts of trade after trade are monotonous, yet full of interest, for every chapter gives a remarkably clear, reliable and evidently unbiased view of some branch of economic life in this

most important centre of population. All summaries and conclusions are reserved for the eighth volume.

The reader who is familiar with the modern manufacturing towns may be surprised to learn to what extent the small workshop persists in the great metropolis. In these small shops and in a few special trades the system of apprenticeship continues while giving way elsewhere to the demand for specialization and quick returns.

The high development and conservative character of the English trade unions is well known. The wage statistics give the actual earnings, with lost time deducted, and these earnings are compared with the social condition as indicated by the number of rooms and servants to the family. The comparison, however, is vitiated somewhat by the fact that wage returns were received from only representative establishments, while the social enumeration included the whole of the respective trades. The impression of a general living wage is given, though to the American reader the figures seem very small. The wage statistics would be much more valuable for comparison if accompanied by a schedule of retail prices, which would indicate their purchasing power.

On the whole, the new books maintain the standard of the preceding volumes as a source of information invaluable for its comprehensiveness and reliability. Besides the two more volumes announced to complete the Industrial Series, the editor has promised a thorough study of the organization and results of philanthropic effort in London. Social students throughout the world are eagerly watching the progress of the work.

DAVID I. GREEN.

Hartford School of Sociology.

Aspects of the Social Problem. By Various Writers. Edited by BERNARD BOSANQUET. Pp. 334. Price, \$1.00. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895.

This is a remarkable collection of essays and its compilation under the able editorship of Mr. Bosanquet, who is already well known to American readers and to some extent to American audiences since his visit to this country, will make it appeal to a large circle of seriously minded students of social problems. We are told that it is intended to combine trained observation in the social field with reasonable theory and to be available for the general reader, and that it is hoped that it will fill a gap in the literature of social reform. Stress is laid in the preface and throughout the individual essays, on the ethical element as a guiding principle in all social work. Of the eighteen essays included in this volume, Mr. Bosanquet has

contributed six, by far the most important, and all of them essentially theoretical in character.

Miss H. Dendy has contributed seven essays dealing largely with practical problems, such as "The Protection and Advancement of the Interests of Child-Life," "The Conditions of Marriage in East London," "The Position of Women in Industry," "The Question of Pensions for the Aged," and "The Methods of True Charity," and some discussion of the English poor law in its historical bearings. One of her papers on "The Industrial Residuum," will be remembered by readers of the *Economic Journal*, in which periodical it first appeared. All of Miss Dendy's work is instructive, and reflects the results of careful observation and calm judgment.

Mr. C. S. Loch, the enterprising secretary of the London Charity Organization Society, who always makes himself an authority on any subject on which he speaks, has contributed three papers to the volume in hand, dealing chiefly with the problems of pauperism and old age pensions, the controverted points in the administration of poor relief in England, and the debatable question of the use of statistics in dealing with this class of problems. Finally we have two essays by Mrs. M'Callum which treat of the protection of children, and some aspects of the social reform movement in general.

It is quite impossible in the space of this review to take up these papers singly and discuss them. The subjects, as I have indicated them, will suffice to show the wide range of material covered, and perhaps they need no further recommendation than the high encomium that they are all written by persons worthy of a hearing. The chief interest in the book seems to me to centre in the philosophical contributions of its editor. In the first two essays, Mr. Bosanquet discusses the duties of citizenship. He gives us a picture of the social life and interest of the ancient Greek municipalities, and draws in clear outline the contrast which our modern cities, with the diversified individual interests of their citizens present. The ethical claims of public life and the common good in our modern complex life, are well compared with the legitimate claims of private and individual interests to which we all owe allegiance. These essays might have been better named "The Spirit of Citizenship," and they are destined to further the highest ideal of civic responsibility, to help to strengthen social concepts by the stress laid on character.

It is in the third essay, however, that Mr. Bosanquet treats of this idea more fully, under the title, "Character in its Bearing on Social Causation." Here the evolutionary bearing of relief work, when viewed in the interests of our common society, is discussed with

admirable clearness. All reflective persons are called upon to meet this issue at almost every step in extending charitable relief. In how far are we defeating the wise purpose of natural selection when we try to hold up those persons, who, by their lack of the qualities that would enable them to become efficient members of a progressive society, are condemned by this unsympathetic law to perish? The familiar problem of a person who refuses to accept public and institutional relief, in a case where the individual in question seems to lack all the qualities that would make private relief anything else than a means of prolonging and maintaining unhealthy conditions, is discussed in all its bearings. Mr. Bosanquet thinks that there is a point at which the private almoner should stop and refuse to give any further relief, because of the lack of those moral qualities or of that moral character which would promise a reasonable hope of cure, and that in such cases if the recipients refuse to accept public relief in its regular channels, they should be left to the consequences of that choice.

In two further essays on "Socialism and Natural Selection," and "The Principle of Private Property," Mr. Bosanquet states the decision of a calm, but not unsympathetic individualist, and in the closing essay of the book on "The Reality of the General Will," he makes a remarkable psychological contribution to the vexed problem in sociological theory of the existence and determination of a social mind. Briefly stated, his idea is that a social will exists, not as a sum of the individual wills although existing in individual minds; but as something which individual wills have in common and as a result of a common experience, of a common history, of a common reaction, upon a common environment. He claims that the social mind is only partially self-conscious, and that individuals can never be fully cognizant of its character and tendencies. It is more than that which is expressed in a public vote on any question; it is more than that thing which is expressed by public opinion in general, and also more than the *de facto* tendency that is shown in the actions of members of the community, though it is much more like this than like either of the other concepts. In this essay is to be found a real contribution to sociological theory that furnishes food for much reflection.

S. M. LINDSAY.

The Writings of Thomas Paine, collected and edited by MONCURE D. CONWAY, with introduction and notes. Vol. I, 1774-1779, pp. vii, 445; Vol. II, 1779-1792, pp. 523; Vol. III, 1791-1804, pp. xv, 436. Price, per volume, \$2.50. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894, 1895.

Mr. Conway set himself an herculean task a few years since when in his two volume biography he attempted to right the wrong which for a century past has been done, the life and deeds and memory of Thomas Paine. Heroically and laboriously he performed it, searching diligently in the archives of England, France and the United States for records of Paine's multifarious doings. His thorough-going labors and tireless devotion produced a "Life" which, to all who will but read, must forever set at naught the many traditional calumnies and asperities that ignorance, prejudice, and time have heaped upon the name of one of America's most eminent patriots and statesmen, and one of humanity's most prescient friends and philosophers. Mr. Conway has done an equally great service toward rescuing the name of Paine from infamy and restoring it to its proper place among the great thinkers and benefactors of human kind in bringing out this complete, definitive edition of his writings, which the Messrs. Putnam have had the courage to publish. One cannot read the many masterly compositions contained in these volumes without becoming convinced that the heart of him who could pen such splendid appeals and construct such cogent arguments for the rights of his fellow man, was good, and true to what reason and conscience told him ought to be. The effect of his writings upon contemporary thought and action, political and otherwise, in England, France and this country, was simply tremendous. No one man ever before wielded over the mind of his generation in so wide and diverse an area, such a power by means of his pen alone, as did Thomas Paine,—except possibly Voltaire. His more notable works, such as "Common Sense," "The American Crisis," "The Rights of Man," were printed in astonishing numbers; the copies of "Rights of Man" circulating in Europe and America amounting to nearly five hundred thousand; this too, in days when book-making was a slow-going process, when type-setting machines, electrotyping and steam printing presses were undreamed of possibilities. Mr. Conway is fully warranted in saying that, "It is not creditable that the world has had to wait so long for a complete edition of writings which excited the gratitude and admiration of the founders of republican liberty in America and Europe."

Several editions of his more important political and religious writings have appeared during the century, but no courageous and at the same time competent publishers, he claims, have brought out an edition containing all of his minor and miscellaneous works. The present edition (to be complete in four volumes) will contain all that Mr. Conway's indefatigable labors in Europe and this country have been able to discover in old papers, magazines, journals,

libraries and State archives. To summarize briefly the contents of the three volumes before us: Volume I contains all of his early political essays and pamphlets published between 1774 and 1779, among them being the famous "Common Sense" and "The American Crisis." Mr. Conway should have noted that half of the numbers of the "Crisis" were published after 1779, continuing up to December, 1783. The opening essay, "African Slavery in America," is remarkably significant of the staunch radicalism which Paine ever displayed throughout his life. In it he denounces the "unnatural" trade in men and unreservedly advocates the abolition of slavery. The editor claims for him the distinction of the first American abolitionist. Following this essay we have a number of papers, among which we may mention "The Magazine in America," "Reflections on the Life and Death of Lord Clive," "Cupid and Hymen," and "Reflections on Unhappy Marriages," in which one will find some acute and helpful observations; "Reflections on Titles," "Thoughts on Defensive War," and "Dwelling;" and the letters and tracts relating to his exposure of the nefarious doings of Silas Deane. He pronounces judgment against titles and the "gothic and absurd" custom of dwelling. In Volume II, 1779-1792, we find Paine's "Letter to the Abbe Raynal," "Dissertations on Government," "The Affairs of the Bank, and Paper Money," "Prospects on the Rubicon," and "The Rights of Man." Among the minor papers of importance are to be mentioned "Peace and the Newfoundland Fisheries," "Emancipation of Slaves," "Public Good," and "Thomas Paine's Answer to Four Questions on the Legislative and Executive Powers."

The table of contents for Volume III, 1792-1804, comprises a most miscellaneous collection of papers and pamphlets. The first hundred pages are given up to letters, replies, rejoinders and addresses growing out of his prosecution by the English government for publishing "The Rights of Man." Following these we have Paine's three speeches to the French Convention in which he urges the trial of Louis XVI. and his expulsion from France. After his conviction Paine courageously protested against his execution, and so effective was his appeal, here given, that Louis' death was decreed by only a meagre majority. Among the titles following are to be found the "Declaration of Rights," written by Paine in conjunction with Condorcet, both of whom were delegated by the French Convention to draft a constitution; and the "Letter to Danton," discovered by the historian Paine, who says of it, "Compared with the speeches and writings of the times, it produces the strangest effect by its practical good sense." Titles XXI and XXII are Paine's lengthy "Memorial to Monroe," and his "Letter to George Washington"

upon his imprisonment in the Luxembourg prison during the Reign of Terror. He escaped the guillotine by the merest chance and suffered the greatest deprivations during his incarceration. He accuses Monroe of deliberately refusing to use his influence as American ambassador to secure his release, and actually conniving at his imprisonment; and Mr. Conway backs up Paine's severe indictment by numerous proofs of Monroe's duplicity. The letter to Washington arraigns in bitter language his old-time friend for criminal forgetfulness and negligence when the author of "Common Sense" and "The American Crisis," was languishing in a French prison in imminent danger of his life. The remainder of this volume is taken up with a number of tracts and dissertations of the greatest interest and importance to students of political philosophy, economic thought, and constitutional government. Some of Paine's best thinking and writing will be found in them. The chief ones are, "Dissertation on First Principles of Government," "The Constitution of 1795," a speech, "The Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance," "Agrarian Justice," "The Eighteenth Fructidor," "Thomas Paine to the Citizens of the United States," a series of letters bearing upon the political situation in 1802 and 1803, and "To the French Inhabitants of Louisiana."

The name and fame of the author of the "Rights of Man" have for so long been clouded by the fogs of odium theologicum that few, if any outside of special students of political philosophy, know that Thomas Paine's life and labors were devoted almost entirely to the promotion and establishment of civil and political liberty and constitutional government. These three volumes are proof enough of this statement. Three out of the four volumes that will contain all of his works, are given up to his political writings, and there remain still more that will take up a part of the fourth volume. In these we find not a scrap or shred of his traditional views on religious matters. In truth, we might judge him strictly orthodox from a reading of these volumes. The students of political theories will find these works of Paine invaluable in their efforts to trace and understand the development of the world's thought on the interesting and important subjects of social progress, the relation of government to society and to individuals and the rise of self-conscious constitutional government. But Paine is to be studied, not only because he clearly reflects the thoughts and longings of a great part of mankind at one of the most momentous periods of the world's history, but for the intrinsic worth of his writings themselves. Some of his plans and proposals for popular government, it is true, were too radical and too oblivious of the absence of certain fundamental political

conditions for them to succeed. But one will find him an eminently conservative thinker at a time when men's minds ran riot in the wildest dreams of "liberty, fraternity and equality," and the perfectibility of mankind. We will search political annals long for a clearer-headed thinker and a more powerful expounder of political theory. He was a keen dialectician as we may see in his celebrated reply to Burke, and he reasoned with unerring accuracy from the premises, generally well founded and comprehensive, which he took. He enforced his conclusions with a vigor and strength of style that has seldom been attained in political writing. The only writer that compares with him is Swift. Paine has the same simple, direct style; forceful, satirical and caustic; at times humorous and witty; here burning with the clear, dry light of cool reason, there blazing with hot indignation at the wrongs and iniquities his sharp, swift-moving pen describes; all qualities that characterize the writings of the great Dean of St. Patrick's.

The thought that will very soon come to the mind of the careful reader of these volumes and impress itself more and more strongly upon him is the close relationship between Paine's theories and modes of thought with a great deal that we have been wont to regard as very recent in its origin. The terms, phrases, ways of stating his subject and points of view are modern and of present day currency. In "Common Sense," he insists upon the inevitable drift of American affairs away from British connection and control in arguments that Professor Goldwin Smith has been emphasizing for a quarter of a century past. His arguments against slavery have the ring of our recent abolitionism. In his "Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance," Paine points out the futility of Pitt's funding scheme, which we have but recently come to appreciate, arraying the arguments against it that Professor H. C. Adams uses in his admirable essay on "Public Debts."

He argues for old age pensions in much the same way that certain well-known English writers and politicians advocate them at the present time. Paine would probably be dubbed a "gold bug" were he alive in these days, denouncing, as he did at all times, fiat paper money and all tinkering with the stability of the currency of the country. He early pointed out the necessity for a stable union of the struggling States under the Confederation. In "Agrarian Justice," he urges with great force the state appropriation of "the unearned increment," in language that anticipates the discussions of Mill and Spencer as to the value of land due to the shifting and increase of population and the relation and rights of the community to the soil of the present owners. Paine further precedes Spencer in

stating clearly the law of equal freedom as the fundamental rule of social life and progress, and the necessary connection between the fulfillment of duties and the possession of rights. Space does not permit me more than to call attention to these matters of interest. At some future time I hope to be able to discuss them more at length.

FRANK I. HERRIOTT.

Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia.

Studies in American Education. By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph. D. Pp. 150. Price, \$1.25. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1895.

Essays in American History. By HENRY FERGUSON, M. A. Pp. 211. New York: James Pott & Co., 1894.

The volume by Dr. Hart consists of a series of six essays upon the live questions which face the educational worker in this country at the present time. These essays, previously issued as magazine articles, are based upon the two thoughts: "That education is substantially one from beginning to end, so that the same or similar methods may be applied throughout; and that teachers of every grade and subject have common interests and may learn from each other." The work of the committees, appointed on the recommendation of the National Educational Association for the purpose of considering the problems in secondary schools, has done much to turn the thoughts of educators toward the necessary inter-relationship existing between all grades and all branches of knowledge. Dr. Hart, by his service in the Cambridge School Committee, is prepared to note the practical difficulties of primary and of secondary education. The problems discussed with much fairness are those of interest alike to college professors, superintendents of schools, boards of education and parents.

"Has the teacher a profession?" First, how far teachers practice a profession; second, how far they are recognized as experts; and third, what may be done to improve the profession? The marks of a profession are: "That it should be a permanent calling taken up as a life-work; that it should require special and intellectual training; and that there should be among its members a feeling of common interest and some organization." He notes the tendency on the part of people in general, and with some reason it may be said, to regard teachers as theorists, as mere encyclopedias of learning. "Congress looks upon the scientific men in the Smithsonian and instructors in government schools as persons to take orders and not to make suggestions."

Teachers who may have failed to see the original article on "Reform in the Grammar Schools" will welcome this careful analysis of

the Cambridge experience. By this plan it is hoped that the time spent in the grammar schools will be five years or less. The plan varying the course so that the bright pupils were put into studies they were able to pursue, abolishing reviews and term examinations connected therewith and simplifying the study of grammar, saved for the pupils time which might be used to advantage in other ways.

One of the most suggestive of the essays is "University Participation—A Substitute for University Extension." The author sets forth what is feasible to colleges in securing the better instruction of teachers actually engaged in the work and describes the plan for courses, to this end, offered by Harvard. A cardinal difference between these courses and the "Teachers' Institute" is that "an essential feature of university participation is to get a return in work and thought from the teachers themselves while the main function of the institute is to stimulate, to suggest." While University Extension may not in every instance have justified its name the failures scarcely warrant Dr. Hart in making his criticisms of the movement. Does an intimate acquaintance with the system justify the following? "When one hears of staff lecturers, one sighs for a school extension system to teach the instructors, for a staff lecturer is a person whom no university authorizes to teach its own students, but who is supposed to carry university instruction to others outside. Such a system is nothing more nor less than a lecture bureau conducted on semi-charitable principles." The substance of the volume is to be found in these three essays.

Of the remaining three articles, "How to Study History" has been presented on different occasions by the same author. "How to Teach History in Secondary Schools," besides insisting on the necessity of every school having a good reference library "convenient and accessible every day and all day" explains the use of the topical method. "The Status of Athletics in American Colleges," presents in a satisfactory manner the chief arguments for and against the prevailing systems.

The purpose of Professor Ferguson's volume of essays, as made known in the preface, is to throw light on some subjects in our history "which have been sometimes left in the shadow." He believes the tendency of the early historians of the United States was to dwell almost exclusively on the bright side of colonial life.

The sources used have been seemingly fairly interpreted. Some question arises in the mind of the reader, however, when he notes the character of Sir Edmund Andros. "Stern and proud and compromising" he was beyond doubt. But that he was "honest, upright and just, and a friend to the best interests of the people whom

he governed" cannot be seconded. The reasoning is well sustained throughout but does not suffice to overcome the old-time judgment—that sanctioned by Johnston, Fiske and other historians of note.

The story of the Quakers of New England is told in a vivid and vigorous manner. The Puritans are charged with having an illegal and unconstitutional government that denied them, in a manner most un-American, the rights of all Englishmen. The essay on "Witches" shows that the tendency of man, like that of other animals, is to revert to original types in lower grades. In the "Loyalists" the author indicates that many of the so-called traitors were acting in all good conscience and would make Americans of worth to-day.

J. A. JAMES.

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Evolution and Effort and their Relation to Religion and Politics.

By EDMOND KELLY, M. A., F. G. S. Pp. ix, 297. Price, \$1.25.
New York : D. Appleton & Co., 1895.

Mr. Kelly has set himself in this little volume of essays, for the single chapters savor rather of a collection of essays than of connected parts of a well worked-out treatise, a very interesting but an exceedingly difficult task. Evolution is of course the watchword in all scientific work of our age, and has made itself felt of late in a peculiarly forcible manner in all social studies. Evolutional philosophy has been exceedingly helpful in all fields where it has been applied by its general suggestiveness in extending the horizon of investigation. More especially is this true in social science where it has cleared up many inexplicable relations previously observed among social phenomena, but it has invariably introduced more problems than it has solved, and has rather unsettled than helped to solve the ethical side of social questions. Ethics, economics and sociology are closely related and interwoven sciences, but beyond the discovery of this fact little has been done that helps us to say how they are related. Mr. Spencer's great system was least productive where most was expected—in his volume on ethics—and he is largely responsible for the determinism introduced in social science by telling us that man's efforts to ameliorate social conditions were more apt to work harm than good, and leading us to believe that faith in the principle of social selection and a large measure of *laissez-faire* would bring us to the desired haven of social peace. The drift of current thought is away from Mr. Spencer at this point and yet in spite of the fact that the results

of "effort" are exaggerated in many quarters, *e. g.* the socialists of all types, and the teachings of evolution ignored, the poison of determinism has entered a destructive wedge in the work of the more thoughtful and influential leaders in social philosophy.

Mr. Kelly makes a good start in a good cause, and if his very readable book arouses more serious work on the part of those better qualified to speak on the wide range of special topics he introduces and suggests, it will have accomplished a worthy end. He recognizes at the outset and does not lose sight of the fact that evolution means development and nothing more, and that its laws can, at most, show us what we may expect provided we know the conditions with which we start. The developments within the limits prescribed by those conditions may be retrogression instead of progress. We think of evolution too often merely as progress because in the biological world this has been true in a vast number of observations, but in the world of social phenomena man has certainly demonstrated his ability to choose to the extent that he has at times gone backward rather than forward. Human choice, whether defended or denied philosophically in the ultimate analysis, certainly is a factor of no mean proportions in determining immediate social welfare. So much Mr. Kelly states clearly and illustrates fully. He attempts more: He would prove it to be the determining factor in social selection able to defeat the ends of natural selection which placed man at the head of the predatory system, but having once placed him there would, if unchecked, have worked his ruin. Man has, however, converted fear into reverence, passion into love and ferocity into courage, and has by intelligence and choice oftentimes opposed the forces of evolution, and is no longer automatically developed by blind processes, but is himself directing the forces of evolution. This, at least, is Mr. Kelly's thesis, which he tries to establish from a hasty review of the more or less well-known facts drawn from recent experience in the problems of Church and State, municipal misgovernment, pauperism, socialism, education and party government, to each of which topics a chapter of the book is devoted. A well-informed student will find in them, however, no new contribution to the literature of these topics, except in so far as the use that is made of familiar material is new to him.

Mr. Kelly makes much of religion as a social force, but his discussions of the historic and scientific view of religion and its conflict with science to which three chapters and parts of others are devoted, are less happy than the other portions of the book, and his conclusions lack the force and ethical vigor that characterizes many of his other suggestions. The general reader interested in social and

philosophical topics will find the book entertaining and suggestive, and special students will sympathize with the aims of the author rather than be satisfied with his arguments or greatly profited by his instruction.

S. M. LINDSAY.

The Winning of the West. By THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Pp. 339. Price, \$2.50. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894.

The present is the third volume of the series in which Mr. Roosevelt has undertaken to tell the story of the invasion and taming of the western wilderness, the driving back of the Indian possessors, and the erection of free governments on the soil thus wrested at great expense of blood and treasure from the hands of the savage. The first two volumes, "From the Alleghanies to the Mississippi," 1769-1776, 1777-1783, deal with the explorations and conquest of the territory, its relations to the Americans in the struggle against Great Britain and the events of the earlier period. The third volume has for its specific sub-title, "The Founding of the Trans-Alleghany Commonwealths," 1783-1790, from the end of the Revolution when men were able to turn their attention from a foreign foe to organization and development on the frontier, to the time when Kentucky was ready for admission into the Union, and Tennessee had been organized as the Southwest Territory.

The volume devotes a chapter to each of the important topics: The inrush of settlers after the Revolution and the Indian wars, the navigation of the Mississippi and the separatist movements, the State of Franklin, Kentucky's struggle for Statehood, the Northwest Territory, the war in the Northwest, the Southwest Territory. The chapter on the navigation of the Mississippi, as the one of the greatest and most lasting importance, commands more space than any other.

Since the publication of the first two volumes, the large and immensely rich collections of Lyman C. Draper have become available and are extensively used. The present volume is based even more largely on MSS. materials, than the two preceding ones. These sources have enabled the author to present some facts that are new to most students of southwestern history, and which will cause the Tennessean to abate a part at least of that hero worship which he has paid for the last eighty years to the memory of John Sevier, for Sevier was among those who held correspondence with Gardoqui, the Spanish minister to the United States, on the subject of an alliance between the Westerners and Spain. This correspondence was not occasioned, as was that of Wilkinson, Sebastian and others,

because of their desire to secure the navigation of the Mississippi. It was the result of the fall of his pseudo State of Franklin, which had been overthrown by the influence of North Carolina and it was against that State that his anger was now aroused. He importuned Gardoqui for money and military aid; he assured him that the best people of Franklin were anxious to enter into an alliance with, and secure commercial concessions from Spain. But the proposition came to nothing as had the schemes of separation in Kentucky; and North Carolina, when she arrested Sevier for treason, was none the wiser concerning his correspondence with the Spaniard. The revelation is now made on the unimpeachable evidence of the Gardoqui MSS.

The author deals, in the main, with principles and characteristics. He does not go to any great extent into the details of the border wars; had such been his object he might have filled several volumes with the bloody tales of Indian savagery. A few stories are made to serve as representatives of the whole, long and bloody as it was. The strength of the work lies in the constant cropping out of the author's own participation in the border life of the present day. From his own experience, example after example is drawn to illustrate situations that occurred in Kentucky and Tennessee a hundred years before. It is this experience, perhaps, drawn from the author's life among the Indians as they appear to-day, that causes him to mince no words and waste no idle sympathy on the treatment which the savage received: "It is idle to dispute about the rights or wrongs of the contest. Two peoples, in two stages of culture which were separated by untold ages, stood face to face; one or the other had to perish: and the whites went forward from sheer necessity" (p. 326). There is no mistaking the tone of these sentences. It is but the expression of the inborn sentiment of the race and one on which it has always acted. The Anglo-Saxon never takes an alien as an equal partner in the government of his lands unless he can assimilate him. If this cannot be done, he suffers him to exist for a time—as the negro has been suffered to exist—because he has been able to take on some degree of Anglo-Saxon civilization; when he fails to do this he is crushed as the Indian has been crushed.

The adoption of the Federal Constitution was even of more importance, if possible, to the people of the West than to those of the East, and the influence of the Federal Union on the shaping and final destiny of these settlements is clearly traced; but they, like the other Southern States, were strongly local in their tendencies and had steadily opposed strengthening the bonds of the old Confederation. This had made possible the separatist movements which

threatened from time to time to cut off this territory from the new government on the coast and in this way to limit the western expansion of the American Republic. The author is a firm believer that the nation was evolved when the nine States ratified the constitution: "Seven years after the war ended, the constitution went into effect, and the United States became in truth a nation" (p. 94), a statement which all students of American growth and development will not be ready to accept as it stands.

The differences between the old Northwest and the Southwest are clearly characterized. The former was won by the armies of the Union, and was organized on a well defined and distinct principle. The Southwest owes little to the military arm of the older States. It was wrested from the savages by the prowess of individual pioneers who settled on the Indian lands and with their arms defended even unto death the lands which they had taken. The land to the north of the Ohio represents the spirit of collectivism; the land to the south the spirit of individualism. The north was surveyed and plotted after a definite fashion; the south was left to itself to get surveys on top of surveys as each settler saw fit or had the ability to put them through.

With Sevier and his pseudo State of Franklin the author has little patience, for his sympathies are strongly on the side of the centralization of power. He fails, perhaps, to appreciate fully the really wholesome fear with which Anti-Federalists in the South regarded the tendencies of the times. This separatist movement made itself felt in all parts of the country south of the Ohio, but only in this one instance was the trial of secession made, although Colonel Arthur Campbell did his utmost to draw off Southwest Virginia after the ignis fatuus of union with Franklin. The separatist leaders do not come out with flying colors in this undertaking and the whole history of the "wild little State" is not far from disreputable. But it is hardly accurate, the reviewer thinks, to give the chief position of opposition to Franklin, to Colonel Tipton, although the books have been unanimous on that point. Tipton can hardly claim priority, even in his opposition.

It is amusing to note how cavalierly the author treats the work of some persons who have written on the same general topic. He is particularly severe on one: "In my first two volumes I have discussed, once for all, the worth of Gilmore's 'histories' of Sevier and Robertson and their times. It is unnecessary further to consider a single statement they contain" (p. 202). As the reviewer has had occasion to find out for himself, the above criticism is as just as it is severe. The proof-reading is not always good. Thus on page 263

Scioto appears for Scioto; the historian Gayarre masquerades as Guyarre (p. 143); Floridablanca appears on page 129 as Florida Blanca, and by a curious oversight in the table of contents the duration of the Southwest Territory is made to last from 1788 to 1890. It is possible also that the career of the State of West Florida, although much shorter than Franklin, lasting only from September 23 to December 6, 1810, is enough like that of the latter to forbid the use of the term "unique." But these are small matters; the book is of great interest and of permanent value.

STEPHEN B. WEEKS.

The Life and Writings of Turgot. By W. WALKER STEPHENS. Pp. xiv, 331. Price, \$4.50. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1895.

Life of Adam Smith. By JOHN RAE. Pp. xv, 449. Price, \$4.00. New York and London: Macmillan & Co., 1895.

Turgot and Adam Smith divide between them the honor of having raised political economy to the dignity of a systematic science. For this reason it is peculiarly gratifying to signal the almost simultaneous appearance of such competent biographies of these illustrious economists as those under review. Of the two, Turgot was the younger man, having been born in 1727, four years later than Smith, and yet he is naturally thought of as the older economist. He wrote his first essay on political economy ("On Paper-money") in 1749 and his most important economic work in 1766. At this time Adam Smith had not yet published anything upon the subject with which his name is now so closely associated, and his first essay in the economic field was at the same time his whole contribution to the science, the "Wealth of Nations," printed in 1776. In considering the lives of these two contemporaries it seems natural therefore to turn to that of Turgot first.

In his introduction Stephens reminds us, that, considering Turgot's importance as a political economist and practical statesman, comparatively little has been written about him in English. Condorcet's *Life*, translated in 1787, has long been too scarce to happen within the reach of the ordinary student, while the essay on Turgot by John Morley and Léon Say's *Life* (translated in 1888), are too condensed to exhaust the subject. There was therefore a real demand for a new and more complete account of the life of this distinguished statesman. Stephens has added greatly to the value of his work by appending to it translations of some of Turgot's most characteristic shorter writings. The book is thus divided into two parts, of about equal length. The

first describes in four chapters Turgot's experiences as a divinity student and as Master of Requests from 1753 to 1761, his activity as Intendant of Limoges (1761 to 1774), and as Comptroller-General of Finance (1774 to 1776), and finally the five years he lived in retirement, which were closed by his death in 1781 when he had attained the age of fifty-four. In the second part we have translations of ten essays upon a variety of subjects written by Turgot between 1750 and 1775, of fifteen of his letters to such men as Voltaire, Condorcet, Hume, Franklin and Price and of some miscellaneous extracts from his other works.

Like so many distinguished Frenchmen of the eighteenth century, Turgot was destined for the church. Though not particularly happy in his home surroundings he was given the best of educational advantages. The last three years of his course were spent at the Sorbonne, and here he laid the foundations of his life-long friendship with the author and economist, Morellet. Already before the completion of his Sorbonne course the idea of taking orders had become repugnant to him, and with the consent of his father he determined upon an administrative career. When his fellow students remonstrated with him on this choice he replied with characteristic frankness that he could not devote his whole life to "wearing a mask." The interval of nearly a year which elapsed between the time of his departure from the Sorbonne and the receipt of his first appointment, Turgot, then a young man of twenty-four, spent at Paris obtaining his first knowledge of social life and making the acquaintance of the illustrious men of the time. He seems to have had neither fondness nor aptitude for society, but nevertheless his quick intelligence and noble character made him a favorite with the less frivolous set. Voltaire greatly admired him, and he became the favorite *protégé* of Mme. Graffigny, the accomplished author of the "*Lettres d'une Péruvienne*." Of Turgot's inner life at this and at all periods of his career Stephens has little or nothing to tell us. His first appointment, to the position of Master of Requests, offered little scope for the exercise of his talents, but already in this position he gave frequent evidence of that unselfish disposition and that exalted sense of justice which distinguished him through life. What makes this period most interesting to us is the fact that it was when Master of Requests that Turgot first associated himself with the Physiocrats. He is known to have been on friendly terms with Dr. Quesnay, and the high regard he felt for Gournay, the leader of the moderate wing of the sect, is sufficiently attested by the eulogy which he composed at the time of the latter's death in 1759. Economists would have been grateful to Stephens if he could have given a more detailed account of Turgot's relation to the Physiocrats and shown in how far his views coincided

with those of Quesnay. Perhaps the materials for a complete understanding of these points have not been preserved. In any case Stephens' *Life* leaves this want unsatisfied.

In 1761, Turgot was given an opportunity to put in practice the noble schemes for ameliorating the condition of the lower classes in France which had been for some time maturing in his mind. As Intendant of Limoges, he was the practical dictator over a considerable province of France and had under his direct care some 500,000 people. It was during the thirteen years that Turgot held this appointment that he gained that thorough acquaintance with the internal condition of France and the administrative evils under which the country was groaning, which served him in such good stead when he was elevated to the position of Comptroller-General in 1774. The reforms which he instituted in the province of Limousin were many and all had for their objects the breaking down of the artificial restrictions which hampered all forms of industry and the lightening of the burden of taxation which fell upon the peasants. He abolished the *corvée* and substituted for it a system of paid labor. He reformed the *taille* by causing a new survey to be made and appointing professional and paid collectors to attend to the administration of this tax. At the most critical period during his intendency, in the winter of 1769, when a famine devastated his province, he did not hesitate any more than did Bismarck one hundred years later, to exceed his constitutional powers in order to carry out the policy he deemed right. Such conduct, if not to be held up for the emulation of administrative officers in general, serves to distinguish the man of genius from the man of mere red-tape and officialism.

The chapter which Mr. Stephens devotes to Turgot, the Comptroller-General, is the one into which he has put most of his own work. In it we are conveyed from the somewhat obscure province of Limousin to the French capital and swept along in the full current of intrigue, corruption and incompetency which was carrying France rapidly toward the revolution. Turgot stands out conspicuously against this background. The profound grasp of the situation which he had; the far-sighted measures of "well-timed reform" he proposed, "to avert the revolution" he partly anticipated; the fearlessness with which he braved the censure of one party after another in the court, circumvented the frivolous and extravagant plans of Marie Antoinette and finally dared to threaten the king himself, with the fate which awaited his government, if he did not stand firm; the calmness and even relief with which he accepted his dismissal when it was conveyed to him by a messenger of the weak monarch who was afraid to deliver it in person; these are facts of history and will always be remembered to the credit

of the one really great character who figures among the officials of the unhappy Louis XVI. During the short two years that he was allowed to direct the financial affairs of the kingdom, Turgot adhered strictly to the program he laid down at the outset: "No bankruptcy, no increase in taxes, no loans." During his administration he successfully put down the bread riots in May, 1775, introduced free trade in grain and free trade in wine throughout the whole interior of France, and finally secured the registration by an unwilling Parliament of an edict abolishing the *corvée*. Two months after this event he was dismissed from office and his secretary, Dupont de Nemours and his friend the Abbé Badaeu, both well-known economists, were exiled from France. No restraint was put upon Turgot's own person, but the manner of his dismissal left no doubt of the completeness of the triumph which the small spirits about the court had gained over the one "*man*"—the phrase is Voltaire's—among them. This part of Mr. Stephens' narrative is enriched by quotations from the letters which Turgot addressed to the king during his ministry. Some of these, translated *in extenso*, appear here for the first time in English and all bear eloquent testimony to the courageous and independent spirit of their author.

During the last five years of his life Turgot resumed his favorite habits of quiet study and literary activity. He kept up an intimate correspondence with Condorcet, his future biographer, and took a lively interest in all the liberal movements of his age. He exchanged letters with Franklin, Josiah Tucker, and Morellet and is said to have been in correspondence with Adam Smith, though no letters verifying this supposition have been preserved. His death was not unexpected and was met with the same calmness that characterized all of his acts.

In spite of the new light which Stephens has thrown upon the character of Turgot and his career as an official, the reader, who seeks here for information about Turgot the economist, will meet with disappointment. This points to the chief defect in Stephens' biography. He has made very little use, apparently, of the great wealth of memoirs, private letters and contemporary judgments connected with this period and has contented himself with reliance upon secondary authorities and upon the semi-official documents bearing upon Turgot's career. Thus we learn nothing new concerning Turgot's relation to the Physiocrats. We are told that his "*Reflexions*," etc., were printed in 1766 (p. 61) while Adam Smith was in Paris, when as a matter of fact they were only written at that time and not printed until three years later when Adam Smith had the first draft of the "*Wealth of Nations*" well along toward completion. Such a slip would not have been made by a trained economist fully alive to the importance of the question as to how much Adam Smith was influenced by

his sojourn in Paris, and it is just here that Mr. Stephens lacks one important qualification for his task. He is not a trained economist and he does scant justice to the side of his subject in which economists are mainly interested.

When we come to the selections he has made from Turgot's writings for translation, the justness of his literary judgment is clearly shown. Ten pieces could hardly be better chosen for displaying the many-sided Turgot than are these. In his youthful Sorbonne essays on the "Successive Advances of the Human Mind" and "Universal History" is shown the broad-minded, if somewhat immature, philosopher; in his essays on "Paper-money," on Gournay and on "Protection to Native Manufactures" we have his characteristic economic theories, and finally in his memorial on "Local Government and National Education" we have the most weighty utterance of Turgot, the responsible minister. Altogether then we cannot but be grateful to Mr. Stephens for his work although it leaves still one side of Turgot to be elucidated by future students.

Turning to Rae's "Life of Adam Smith," the reviewer can have nothing but words of praise for this masterly biography. Aside from Dugald Stewart's memoir of his friend, written in 1793 and enlarged for publication in 1810, the materials for a life of the great economist are known to be of the scantiest. And yet Mr. Rae has succeeded, through the exhaustive study of contemporary sources, in giving us a very complete sketch of that life and in throwing much new light upon the generation of the "Wealth of Nations." Mr. Rae's book is divided into thirty-two chapters, each dealing with some period or episode in Adam Smith's life. Like Turgot, Smith enjoyed the best of educational advantages. He went up to the University of Glasgow from his native Kirkcaldy when only fourteen years of age, and after remaining here three years was sent as Snell Exhibitioner to Balliol College, Oxford, where he studied for six years longer. Like Turgot again, he began his career in practical life when twenty-five years of age and was almost immediately successful. The actual careers of the two men, however, were as different as possible. Adam Smith began his adult life as a public lecturer on English literature at Edinburgh (in 1749) and acquired such a reputation in this capacity that he was made Professor of Logic at his *alma mater* (Glasgow) two years later when he was only twenty-seven. The principal events of his later life are sufficiently familiar. Retaining his chair at Glasgow for thirteen years, he resigned it in 1764 to accept a position as traveling tutor to the Duke of Buccleugh. With this young nobleman he spent nearly three years in continental travel, and upon his return to Scotland in 1767 he settled down at Kirkcaldy to work upon the "Wealth of Nations" which occu-

pied his time pretty constantly until it was published in 1776. This work so added to his reputation that the last fourteen years of his life were brightened by numerous public and private tributes to his genius. He was made Commissioner of Customs for Scotland in 1777 and ten years later he was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University, than which no honor could have been more acceptable. His death occurred in 1790.

Unlike Turgot, Smith's services to the world were mainly posthumous. It is not on account of his character, noble though that was, nor on account of his practical success as a teacher, that he is revered, but rather on account of the ideas which he embodied in the "Wealth of Nations," and which have now become the common possession of the race. As has been already intimated, the principal merit of Mr. Rae's biography consists in the exhaustive use he has made of contemporary sources to throw light upon the forces which co-operated with Adam Smith's native genius in the production of this great work. Contrary to the prevalent view, Rae maintains that if Adam Smith "was any man's disciple, he was Hutcheson's," rather than Hume's or Quesnay's. Hutcheson was Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow when Smith went there as an impressionable lad of fourteen. In his lectures he covered the same field, ethics, jurisprudence and political economy, which Adam Smith was later to make peculiarly his own. Hutcheson's views were very much in advance of his age and were set forth by a master in the art of academic lecturing. Rae describes him as "free from the then prevailing fallacies about money," and continues, "his remarks on value contain what reads like a first draft of Smith's famous passage on value in use and value in exchange. Like Smith, he holds labor to be the great source of wealth and the true measure of value, and declares every man to have the natural right to use his faculties according to his own pleasure for his own ends in any work or recreation that inflicts no injury on the persons or property of others, except when the public interests may otherwise require" (p. 14). This is in brief the basis of the system of natural liberty which many have supposed Smith to have borrowed from the Physiocrats. That Hutcheson's teaching made a vivid impression upon the young student's mind is shown by the fact that in the public course of lectures on political economy which Smith delivered in Edinburgh in the winter of 1750, he took substantially the same position which he later defends in the "Wealth of Nations." Moreover during his thirteen years as professor at Glasgow he was such an ardent advocate of the system of natural liberty that he "converted the whole town to free trade." This was before the Physiocrats had written a line, or Adam Smith had any knowledge

that such a sect existed. Undoubtedly during his winter in Paris (1765) Smith derived many fruitful ideas from his intercourse with Turgot, Quesnay and the other Physiocrats and received from them much assistance in getting his own theories into a systematic form, but it is equally certain that the main outline of his own scheme of political economy was already in his mind before he set foot in France. He was working at it in Toulouse in 1764 and was able to show Turgot quite as profound a knowledge of the subject as he himself possessed when they conversed on economic questions a year later. Smith's judgment of Turgot is interesting. He thought him "an excellent person, very honest and well-meaning, but so unacquainted with the world and human nature that it was a maxim with him, as he himself has told David Hume, 'that whatever is right may be done.'"

In the chapter entitled "The Wealth of Nations Abroad and at Home," Mr. Rae has collected some useful biographical notes. It is amusing to learn that the work was suppressed by the Spanish Inquisition because of the "lowness of its styles and the looseness of its morals." The last days of Adam Smith are rendered interesting by an event which has spared his successors much tedious and useless labor, I mean the destruction of his private papers. When he felt his end approaching this matter seemed to cause him considerable anxiety. After much urging, his friends, Hutton and Black, were persuaded to burn before the eyes of the dying man "sixteen volumes of manuscript to which he directed them without knowing or asking what they contained." Much relieved by this compliance with his wishes Adam Smith met his death, regretting only that "he had done so little."

In this short review I have been able to give but a very inadequate notion of the scientific completeness and literary charm of Mr. Rae's biography. There is hardly a prominent character of the last century that does not figure in these pages and about each is collected a wealth of anecdote and of contemporary opinion which lifts him out of the shadowy realm of history and makes him a creature of flesh and blood, whose motives we can understand and with whose feelings we can sympathize. Economists of all lands have long wished for a really complete biography of Adam Smith, and now that the result of Mr. Rae's patient and scholarly labors is before us, it is not too much to say that the book is worthy of its subject, the immortal "father of political economy."

HENRY R. SEAGER.

University of Pennsylvania,

Journal of Colonel George Washington, commanding a detachment of Virginia troops sent by Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, across the Alleghany mountains, in 1754, etc. Edited with notes by J. M. TONER, M. D. Pp. 273. Price, \$5.00. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1893.

Whenever Dr. Toner writes about Washington he has something to tell us that is sure to prove interesting and profitable reading. For so familiar has he made himself with the details of his hero's career that we may regard him as the Sparks of our time, with this difference: he has too great a reverence for his subject ever to tamper with the texts he publishes. The volume under consideration is the third in the series of Washington's journals which he is editing in his careful and painstaking manner. For the nearest approach to the original of this he has to rest satisfied with a garbled French translation of it, published in 1756, and designed to have political effect. The journal fell into French hands most probably, as Dr. Toner holds, at the battle of Great Meadows when, as Washington tells us, he lost all his papers. Dr. Toner, while not despairing that the original may still be in existence, gives us here a translation from the French version, and as it is only a fragment, ending abruptly on the twenty-seventh of June, he completes the narrative from original documents of Washington's own writing, down to his return to Williamsburg in the following July.

The journal tells the story of the preliminary skirmishes of the war that was to blot out the possessions of France from the map of America. While Colonel Fry was nominally in charge of the expedition against Fort Duquesne his illness put Major George Washington, just commissioned lieutenant-colonel, really in command, and with his two hundred and fifty men on April 2, 1754, he started from Alexandria, Va., at the head of the first body of American troops sent across the Alleghany mountains. Viewed in its best light it was hardly more than a marauding expedition whose object was to take possession and hold as much territory as possible. Washington records, while almost repeating the words of his instructions from Governor Dinwiddie, that he was sent "to help Captain Trent to build forts, and to defend the possessions of his majesty against the attempts and hostilities of the French."

We have space to do no more than mention that the expedition advanced and retreated with great caution and no little difficulty. That several battles, or rather skirmishes, took place and that, for lack of adequate reinforcements, Washington was finally forced to capitulate, with all the honors of war, at the Great Meadows where he had

thrown up the breastworks named by him Fort Necessity. The enterprise in itself was barren of results, but it served to render Washington familiar with the country, the knowledge of which he was soon to be called on to make use of, and to open the way for the final conquest of the territory. He learned also that the Indians were a not unimportant factor to be taken into consideration. Washington knew how to take the just measure of their protestations of friendship; that they were meant to draw from him the details of his plans to be in turn divulged to the French at the earliest opportunity. But he failed not to negotiate with them, liberally punctuating his speeches the while with gifts of wampum belts. A less cautious and judicious commander might have been misled by their intrigues. It is interesting to find him speaking of them, however, as "treacherous devils, . . . sent by the French to act as spies," and to note his gratification at their return "though not without some stories, prepared to amuse the French, which may be of service to make our designs succeed." Nor did he hesitate to enlist the services of those friendly to him and in turn to use them as spies upon the actions of the enemy.

Dr. Toner has done a most serviceable piece of work in thus presenting before us this material which, added to Gist's and Trent's journals, enables us to follow the history of the conquest of the West with considerable detail. In addition it is a valuable aid to understanding the development of Washington's character, for, although a mere youth, he had ample opportunity to exhibit some of those sterling qualities which served him in such good stead in the War for Independence. The appendices are of particular importance, especially the transcript of Washington's account with Virginia, rendered October, 1754. It enables Dr. Toner to fix the route of his march and gives almost conclusive evidence that the original of the journal was lost at the battle of the Great Meadows. The absence of a map from the volume is greatly to be regretted; and it would have been well, too, if Dr. Toner had calculated a little more upon his readers' intelligence. For then he would not have needed to overburden the book with so many unimportant notes, thereby making the reading of the journal itself a most difficult task.

HERBERT FRIEDENWALD.

Philadelphia.

English History in Shakespeare's Plays. By BEVERLEY E. WARNER.

Pp. x, 321. Price, \$1.75. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1894.

If it be true, as Coleridge said, that "the people take their theology from Milton and their history from Shakespeare," this latter debt

is largely an unconscious one, and one upon which students, both historical and literary, have laid little stress. In all the wealth of Shakespearian literature it is strange that there has been but one slender volume, now long out of print, which has attempted any continuous treatment of English history as reflected in Shakespeare's plays.

Schlegel insisted that Shakespeare intended his ten historical plays as parts of one great whole. It is this oneness, this continuity that Mr. Warner has seized upon and enforced in this course of popular lectures. An exact title for the whole series of plays, as he reads them, would be: "The Decline and Fall of the House of Plantagenet, with a Prologue on King John and an Epilogue on Henry VIII."

"You must tell me what I am to see, or I shall not see it," said a great scientist, before whom Faraday was about to perform some of his marvelous experiments. This same service, the focusing of the attention, is here attempted in behalf of the Shakespearian student. With the gain there comes, of course, the attendant danger, that the emphasis may not be not the dramatist's but the lecturer's, that it has been read not in but *into* the plays. The scheme which Mr. Warner here suggests, however, is at once so simple and so temperately urged, that it will prove of no slight help.

In arrangement the book is made very usable. The discussion of each play is preceded by a brief statement of its sources and of its early editions, together with a chronology of the events occurring between this and the preceding play. In the lecture proper the principal anachronisms are pointed out, and occasional reference is made to contemporary chronicles. There is but slight display of originality or of deep research. Indeed there is little here which many a painstaking student of Shakespeare might not find for himself. But the excellence of this book is that here the work has actually been done, the unity has been grasped; freed from their stage setting, the spirit and movement of English history are here presented, and in great measure there is effected "a working partnership between the Chronicle of the formal historian and the Epic of the dramatic poet." Several useful appendices, bibliographical and critical, and an excellent index complete the book.

GEORGE H. HAYNES.

Punishment and Reformation, an Historical Sketch of the Rise of the Penitentiary System. By FREDERICK HOWARD WINES, LL. D. Pp. 339. Price, \$1.75. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1895.

In January, 1895, Dr. Wines delivered a course of lectures, upon "Punishment and Reformation," before the Lowell Institute of Bos-

ton. They were addressed to a popular audience, and in the revised form of the present work they are still addressed to a like audience. As the author disclaims any pretence to original research or exhaustive treatment, it is primarily from the standpoint of the general reader that his work must be considered. The general reader is torn by conflicting emotions. He has a real or fancied thirst for information; but he is impatient, impatient of quantity, impatient of the form of presentation. Dr. Wines has skillfully met the situation. He does not attempt to tell us all he knows, but what he tells us he puts before us in a very readable fashion.

The sub-title, "An Historical Sketch of the Rise of the Penitentiary System," tells us the order of presentation. The attitude of society toward crime is reflected in the treatment meted out to law-breakers. Dr. Wines gives us a spirited but somewhat harrowing account of the corporal punishments which were the sole weapon of the law-giver down to the very dawn of modern times. He then traces the gradual disappearance of barbaric punishments and the substitution of more humane treatment. Deprivation of liberty by confinement is to-day the penalty of crime in all civilized countries. The prison, once a temporary stage before trial or before the execution of a sentence, has become the main agent for the punishment of law-breakers. We have not all, it is true, the same notions of the purpose of this punishment, or of the spirit in which it should be administered. Hence the concluding chapters treat of the Elmira system, criminal anthropology, and other modern notions in the theory of crime and punishment. This portion, and, indeed, the book throughout, is marked by a sober-minded judicial treatment of the subject which cannot fail to exert a healthy influence. The author is no enthusiast, but at the same time a scholar, and a practical man of affairs, whose life-long familiarity with the subject of crime and punishment has taught him to see things as they really are, and yet not to despair of improvement.

We cannot conclude a review in the *ANNALS* without asking a question which might perhaps be passed over in a newspaper review, namely, what is the value of the work to the student of sociology? The book may be divided into two parts, historical and expository. In the interests of the general reader Dr. Wines was forced to expand the historical portion where he was not at home, and contract the expository part where he is an acknowledged master. For the student this is unfortunate. He could wish that the historical summary had been made by a more skillful hand, for he cannot but be pained by so startling an historical statement, as that Maria Theresa was succeeded by Joseph II., who had an almost insane hatred of all

reform.* On the other hand the student will regret the brevity of the exposition of more modern notions of punishment and crime which is held within such narrow limits as to contain perforce only the general characteristics with which he is already familiar. Though of slight value to himself, the student cannot fail to recognize the admirable popular qualities of the book, and to recommend it to those seeking an introduction to the study of crime and its treatment.

ROLAND P. FALKNER.

POPULAR DISCUSSIONS OF THE MONEY QUESTION.

Several score of pamphlets, leaflets, catechisms and addresses upon the various phases of bimetallism have appeared within the last few months, but the gist of all that they contain is to be found in one or another of a list of four or five books. They possess no scientific value for the student of money, for they contain no new facts or groupings of statistics, and no new theories that have any value except as curiosities of abnormal logic.

Mr. Harvey's book, "*Coin's Financial School*,"† is probably responsible for three-fourths of the cheap literature issued this year upon the money question. It is a quasi-humorous, yet apparently earnest and sincere argument for the free coinage of silver in the United States, the mono-metallic logic coming from the lips of a boy teacher in an imaginary school at Chicago. The book has been widely read and has received the earnest and often acrimonious consideration of numerous critics. The author has been censured for having represented certain well-known financiers as present at his "school" in utter helplessness before the logic of the boy lecturer, yet a reader of any discernment whatever can hardly fail to perceive the fictitious character of the "school."

In the book we find all the old arguments in behalf of silver ingeniously bolstered by statistics, charts and illustrations. Mr. Harvey tries to prove that the original unit in our currency was the silver dollar, that bimetallism was successfully maintained down to 1873, when silver was surreptitiously and feloniously demonetized, that gold is appreciating in value and that the consequent falling prices are responsible for manifold commercial and industrial evils, that the value or purchasing power of silver has changed but little in the last twenty

* Page 139.

† *Coin's Financial School*. By W. H. HARVEY. Pp. 155. Price, 25c. Chicago: Coin Publishing Company, 1894.

years, and that the opening of the United States mints to the free coinage of silver would raise it to parity with gold at the ratio of 16 to 1.

Evidently the most important of these contentions is the last. An opponent of silver might admit, for the sake of avoiding unnecessary argument, the truth of all of Coin's other conclusions, and yet prove that the free coinage of silver would have disastrous results; or conversely, if it cannot be made reasonably certain that the free coinage of silver will result in a commercial ratio of 16 to 1 between silver and gold, argument on other points can avail but little except with people who are willing to make a change in the standard of value at any cost whatever. If it should be admitted that the free coinage of silver means a transition in this country from a gold level to a silver level of prices, it would probably have few advocates in any community. The friends of silver know this well enough, and as a rule they claim that 371.25 grains of silver will be equal in value to 23.22 grains of gold when the free coinage of silver is legalized. Yet they avoid this direct and important issue as much as possible, seeming to find it more effective to describe the evils of the present situation and to let it be taken for granted that the change that they propose will be for the better. So Mr. Harvey in his "Coin's Financial School," just as in his public debates in Chicago with Professor Laughlin and Mr. Horr, is most strenuous in his efforts to demonstrate that our original monetary unit was of silver, that its demonetization was a crime, and that gold prices are falling because there is not gold enough in the world to do the business of the world.

Of the one hundred and fifty-five pages of this book, only twenty are ostensibly devoted to the consideration of independent free coinage, and here we find not argument, but denunciation of Great Britain. It is the poorest chapter in the book. The boy teacher, having exhausted his statistics in exhibition of the desolation caused by the gold standard, takes for granted that his pupils perceive, as he does, that there is no other possible remedy except the free and independent coinage of silver by the United States.

Most of Mr. Harvey's opponents have followed his order in debate and have thus wasted considerable time over unimportant issues. The silver unit contention and "the crime of 1873" are discussed in great detail, as if the issues of the present depended on their immediate settlement. The silver question, as a question of the day, involves the discussion of two points: First, is the gold standard maintained at great cost to trade and industry because of an inade-

quate supply of gold? and, second, will any improvement result from the free coinage of silver? We must have positive and convincing information upon these two points before the silver question can be satisfactorily disposed of and all discussion of other points is in the main unessential. The author of "Coin" does his best to prove that the gold standard causes infinite mischief. He faces that issue squarely, but he dodges the other. Having proved to his satisfaction that evil results from the scarcity of money, he assumes that the merits of a policy which increases the money supply need no demonstration. He begs, therefore, the real question at issue. It is comparatively easy for him, by massing the gloomiest statistics he can find, to convince the average man that something is radically wrong with business and with prices, and to shoulder the responsibility upon an appreciating gold standard, but he does not prove, and really does not try to prove that the free coinage of silver will help matters, although that is the particular thesis which the book sets out to establish.

The replies to "Coin's Financial School" may be grouped in two classes—those which attack especially its theories, and those which deny its "facts." Professor Laughlin's book, "*Facts About Money*,"* is beyond question the best all-round reply that has been published. It appears to consist of editorials which he contributed last spring to a Chicago newspaper, and is dressed with such a picturesque cover that one is led to suspect that it was issued without authority while the professor was absent on his summer vacation. The book is of real value to the student. It discusses the "unit question," the alternating standard in the United States from 1792 to 1873, France, under the free coinage of silver, the Act of 1873, the nature and function of money, the relation of money and prices, the panic of 1893, the production of gold and silver, the shrinkage of prices, etc. In a way the book may be regarded as a supplement to the same author's excellent "*History of Bimetallism*," although the latter treatise contains many of the facts and practically all of the arguments here freshly presented.

Professor Laughlin, of course, takes his stand on strictly classical ground, and attacks the very foundations of "Coin's" philosophy, to-wit: The quantitative theory of money. He contends that the value of money is very little dependent upon its volume, because of the important work done in modern business by the

* *Facts About Money*. By J. LAURENCE LAUGHLIN, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Chicago. Pp. 273. Price, 50c. Chicago: E. A. Weeks & Co., 1895.

element of credit. Students of the subject are familiar with this argument and it is not necessary to discuss it here. Professor Laughlin makes a good statement of it, yet he does not always treat his adversary with perfect fairness. Thus, in combating "Coin's" position that prices are affected by the quantity of money in circulation, Professor Laughlin says: "In 1873, when no gold or silver was in circulation, prices were at 122; and in 1891 when the circulation had gained \$1,003,000,000 of gold and silver, prices were at 92.2. Nothing could show more clearly the utter incompetence of 'Coin's' book, nor more clearly show that the quantity of silver has had nothing to do with the movement of prices since 1873."

"Coin's" incompetence is hardly to be exhibited in this easy fashion. The value of gold, or the level of gold prices, cannot under any theory be determined by the quantity of gold in any single country. Professor Laughlin's effort to appropriate the enemy's ammunition of falling prices is more ingenious than ingenuous. "Coin's" contention is that the value of gold depends upon the relation of the total supply in the world to the total demand, and he further insists that the money use of gold is a most important element in the demand for the metal. "Coin" speaks of the money demand for gold as an "unlimited demand," and in so doing is, of course, in manifest error. Professor Laughlin apparently does not believe that the use of gold as money has any effect upon the value of the metal. "To coin money," he says, "does not create a demand for it." That is true enough, but the fact that people have a use for some \$4,000,000,000 of gold coin, whether because of law or of custom, does seem to constitute a rather strong demand for the metal.

Professor Laughlin does not discuss this point satisfactorily, yet it is fundamental in the arguments of the friends of silver. I do not recall any passage in which he declares boldly that in his opinion a free coinage act would not raise the commercial value of silver, yet that he holds such an opinion must be inferred from such sentences as the following: "The legal tender power of Mexican law does not give a Mexican silver dollar any additional value beyond its intrinsic worth in the markets of the world." But is not the present intrinsic worth of silver in the markets of the world partly due to the legal tender power of Mexican law? That is a point upon which "Coin" and other advocates of silver lay great stress, and it seems to me that the two recent champions of mono-metallism, Professor Laughlin in this country and Mr. MacLeod in England, fail to recognize its importance.

The book by Messrs. Fraser and Sergel, called "Sound Money,"* has for a sub-title "Complete Exposure of the Forged and Falsified Statistics in 'Coin's Financial School.'" It represents a type of argument which hardly does credit to the "sound money" cause. An effort is made throughout the book to convince the reader that Mr. Harvey has deliberately changed to his advantage the figures which he quotes from statistical manuals. The authors may be sincere in their charges, yet there is no evidence that Mr. Harvey has intentionally doctored statistics. His references are to the statistical abstract for 1893, and to other statistical manuals of that and the preceding year; while his critics always compare his figures with those given in the publications of 1894. I have compared some of his condemned tables with the authorities of 1893 and 1892, and have found them to be correct. For instance, his table showing the world's production of gold and silver, where he is said to have lessened the gold product and increased the silver product for every year—with four exceptions—since 1841, coincides almost exactly with the table published in the report of the Director of the Mint for 1893, although it does not agree with the figures given in the report for 1894. Mr. Harvey is certainly not to be blamed because of discrepancies that did not exist when he wrote his book.

The "Sound Currency"† publications of the Reform Club of New York, differ radically in form from the literature published in Chicago and other parts of the West. They discuss the various phases of the money question in a straightforward, serious way, entirely without the aid of pictures or imaginary conversations. Each writer aims evidently at the utmost clearness and simplicity of exposition. The result is a score of small pamphlets in which a large amount of valuable information is condensed. The popular interest in the whole matter is now apparently on the decline, and the friends of independent free coinage in this country are believed to be lessening in number. However that may be, the agitation has been an educational one for the people, and the publication and wide circulation of "Coin's Financial School," which is credited with being the immediate cause of the agitation, need not now be viewed with regret by anyone.

JOS. FRENCH JOHNSON.

University of Pennsylvania.

* *Sound Money*. By JOHN A. FRASER, Jr., and CHARLES H. SERGEL. Pp. 114. Price, 25c. Chicago: Charles H. Sergel Company, 1895.

† *Sound Currency*. Published semi-monthly by the Sound Currency Committee of the Reform Club. Single copies, 5c. New York: 52 William Street.

NOTES.

THE FIRST EDITION of Bastable's "Public Finance" having been for some time out of print all interested in public finance will be glad that a new edition* has been given to the public. The volume has been increased by thirty-six pages; a good subject index has been added; two new chapters have been introduced, one by expanding the appendix to Chapter VI, Book III, thus enabling the author to discuss more fully the "maxims of taxation," and the other by dividing and expanding Chapter VIII., Book IV, into two chapters.

The facts and figures have been revised and brought down to date. The important financial measures adopted since the first edition was issued have been treated of in this edition. Each change made has been an improvement. Certainly no book of this kind, intended as a manual, should be published without an index and this need the author has recognized in preparing this new edition of his work.

ANY READER of Mr. Brough's "Natural Law of Money,"† who expects, from the long and promising title of this book, to find in it anything new on the money question, will be disappointed. Indeed, the only apparent excuse for the publication of the book is that it is only by much repetition that sound views can be popularized, and Mr. Brough's views are on the whole sound.

The book is devoted to an incomplete and somewhat fanciful "history" of money, a partial exposition of the well-known principles of the "banking school," and the discussion of what Mr. Brough calls the "natural law" of money. This "law" is that "the commodity employed as money does not go out of use until it is superseded by one of superior qualifications for the service." The student of history or of evolution needs no prophet to tell him that. There is little that is practically helpful and certainly nothing new in the book.

IN A BOOK entitled "Principles and Practice of Finance,"‡ Mr. Edward Carroll, Jr., has embodied much valuable information in a

* *Public Finance*. By C. F. BASTABLE. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Pp. 708-8. Price, \$4.00. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895.

† *The Natural Law of Money*. The successive steps in the growth of money traced from the days of barter to the introduction of the modern clearing-house, and monetary principles examined in their relation to past and present legislation. By WILLIAM BROUGH. Pp. v, 168. Price, \$1.00. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

‡ *Principles and Practice of Finance*. A Practical Guide for Bankers, Merchants and Lawyers. Together with a Summary of the National and State Banking Laws, and the Legal Rates of Interest, Tables of Foreign Coins, and a Glossary of Commercial and Financial Terms. By EDWARD CARROLL, Jr. Pp. vii, 311. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1895.

convenient form for use. To the principles of finance only fifty-nine pages are devoted. These two chapters might better have been omitted. The author is evidently not a specialist in the theory of finance. The brief discussion of theory is of little value and forms no essential part of the book. The remaining five-sixths of the book constitute a good compendium of what an academic or business man ought to know regarding the currency of the United States, the national banking system and the State and private banking institutions of New York State, the clearing house system, the New York Stock Exchange, the various kinds of business paper and the methods according to which the more common business transactions are made. The book contains a table giving the value of foreign coins, and has one chapter summarizing the laws of each State regarding legal rates of interest, days of grace and legal holidays. A glossary of thirty-one pages defines the business terms most in use. Students as well as business men will find the book one worth reading and placing in their libraries for reference.

"ANDREW JACKSON, TENNESSEE AND THE UNION," by Albert V. Goodpasture, is the title of a paper read before the Vanderbilt Southern History and the Tennessee Historical Societies and just published among the Tennessee Historical Society Papers.* While not so exhaustive as might be wished, the paper brings to notice a large number of men, contemporaries of Andrew Jackson and schooled by the same experiences in the same sentiments, who went as young men to States farther south and west to enter politics and organize the party of Jackson's loyal supporters.

"ENGLISH HISTORY, FOR AMERICAN READERS" is a book whose strength and weakness are indicated in the title itself.† Its strength, in that a definite ideal is always of value to a book; its weakness, in that this ideal is, we are inclined to think, a bad one. The history of no country should be written in the light of that of another. Each country has its own development, its own causes of change, progress, or decline. To lay stress on those elements of the history of a country which have more directly influenced the fate of another is to misrepresent the facts by putting them in a false perspective. The best value of English history for American students can only be attained when

* Pp. 23. Nashville, Tenn.

† *English History for American Readers*. By THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON and EDWARD CHANNING. Pp. 334. Price, \$1.20. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

they study it for its own sake, forgetting, for the time, as far as possible their own country, and striving to understand English history in its own light.

Apart from this criticism, the familiar story is well told, avoiding, in the main, unjustifiable statements of fact, and yet retaining the interest of a continuous narrative. The illustrations are somewhat disappointing, being for the most part the same that have been already used in "Gardiner's England," and yet by some inferiority of book-making, having a decidedly poorer appearance. In this land of good wood-engraving one dislikes to see the American imprint accompanied by poorer pictures than the English.

THAT THEORY OF history which makes it an account of the characters, doings, sayings, intrigues, and affairs of the members of royal families and their "set," is well exemplified in Mrs. Latimer's "England in the Nineteenth Century."* And as the inane and objectless kind of amusement which comes from this kind of history is always attractive to many people, there will no doubt be a sufficient number of readers to remunerate the publishers and the author; which is the highest ideal it seems proper to attribute to the makers of such literature.

Mühlbrecht's "*Wegweiser*"† became an indispensable assistant to the student of politics and economics upon its first appearance in 1886. The first edition contained a list of the leading works on law, politics and economics in our modern literature down to the first of July, 1885. The preface to the new edition bears date of January 1, 1893, and presumably gives a view of the literature down to, or within a short time of, that date. The first edition contained 429 pages; the present is nearly double the size of the former.

An examination of the new edition shows that the work has been improved in very many directions. It now contains the titles of almost 34,000 works. Of course, even such a vast catalogue as this is not complete; but it contains, especially for German literature, a very satisfactory and comprehensive selection of the works which have appeared upon these subjects up to the present time. Among the older works only those are selected which are considered to be of permanent value. The usefulness of the book is greatly increased by

* *England in the Nineteenth Century*. By MARY ELIZABETH WORMELEY LATIMER. Pp. 451. Price, \$2.50. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1894.

† *Wegweiser durch die neuere Litteratur der Rechts und Staatswissenschaften. Für die Praxis bearbeitet*. Von OTTO MÜHLBRECHT. Zweite umgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. Pp. 748. Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1893.

the systematic classification of the subjects which is prefixed to the body of the work, and by the alphabetic register which is appended to it, the latter containing in an index form some 48,000 headings, embracing the names of all the authors, the titles of their works, and many cross-references which heighten the value of the register very much.

To those who have had occasion to use the first edition of this book it is only necessary to say that the second is a material improvement upon the first. To those who have never seen or utilized it we can recommend it cordially. It would be easy to find fault with such a work; but it would be very difficult to improve upon it. The compiler, as well as the publishing house, has done a most substantial service to science. The book supplements their well-known bibliographical lists in a most valuable way. The name of the author, the title of the book, the place and date of publication and the publishers' price are all indicated. In the case of collections and of older works, the prices at which they are most commonly quoted in the market are given, so far as practicable, and the works have been marked as out of print which can no longer be obtained from the publishers. Many of the titles are given three times in the alphabetic register: once under the name of the author; once under the leading word in the title; and once under the name of the country to which the work refers. It is thus possible for one to acquaint oneself very quickly as to the literature relating to any given subject, as well as the literature relating to a given country, and even a province or city. It would be a great service to English literature if some English or American publisher would prepare a work along the same lines which should be as complete for American and English works as the present for German. The "*Wegweiser*" ought to be in every university library in the United States.

THE VALUE OF Professor Tarr's work on the "Economic Geology of the United States" * is shown by the early appearance of a second edition. The first edition was exhausted in a little over a year. The new issue is hardly a revision of the former one. The pagination of both editions is the same up to page 466. Between pages 464 and 465 of the second edition a table is inserted giving the quantity and value of the mineral products of the United States for the calendar years

* *Economic Geology of the United States, with Briefer Mention of Foreign Mineral Products.* By RALPH S. TARR, B. S., F. G. S. A., Assistant Professor of Geology at Cornell University. 2d edition. Pp. xx, 525. Price, \$3.50. New York and London: Macmillan & Co., 1895.

1884 to 1893. Beginning with page 466 seventeen pages of new matter are added containing notes and statistics of mineral products for the years 1892 and 1893.

AMERICAN AND ENGLISH writers too often speak of the "Austrian School" as of a group of economists whose scientific work is finished. The theories which they have developed are grouped together and criticised as though they constituted a complete system and as though any field of economic phenomena not covered by these theories were in itself a reproach to the Austrian economists. Nothing is more certain than that the Austrian writers themselves do not regard their work as completed. They would be the last to claim for their theories the title of a "system." One evidence of this is found in the mass of monographic literature which the younger members of the school are industriously turning out each year. This literature is in part constructive, attempting to give wider and wider application to the Austrian theory of value, and in part critical, designing to show how this theory fits into accepted systems of economics and in how far it renders necessary the reconstruction of these systems.

Two monographs illustrating these different directions of literary activity have lately appeared. The first is an essay by Knut Wicksell upon "Value, Capital and Interest."* This falls into two parts, one of which explains the "new theory of value," while the other discusses the "new theory of capital." The principal purpose of the author has been to translate into mathematical language the theories of the Austrian economists and to correct and complete Böhm-Bawerk's analysis of capital and interest. He regards the work of Jevons in this same field as superficial, while the more profound work of Walras is declared to rest on incorrect hypotheses. With what success the author has applied the mathematical method to the problem of interest let those judge who have the patience and knowledge to follow through his ingenious demonstrations. The second monograph is by Dr. Richard Schüller and discusses the "Classical School and its Critic."† The "critic" alluded to is Professor Brentano and the criticism that contained in his inaugural address when installed as professor in Vienna. Dr. Schüller has endeavored to prove by exhaustive quotations from the works of Adam Smith, Say, Malthus and Ricardo, that the "abstractions" which Brentano lays to the charge of these economists will be sought for in vain in their writings. The monograph is

* *Ueber Wert, Kapital und Rente nach den neueren nationalökonomischen Theorien.* Pp. xvi, 143. Jena: Gustav Fischer.

† *Die klassische Nationökonomie und ihre Gegner.* Pp. 71. Berlin: Carl Heymann, 1895.

dedicated to Professor Carl Menger and in it the Austrian economists are treated as the logical heritors of the English classical school. As a reply to Brentano's hasty and exaggerated assertions, Dr. Schüller's study is conclusive, but it throws little or no new light upon the real attitude of the classical economists.

One of the anomalies in the development of the German historical school has been the unhistorical attitude some of its members have taken toward economic theory. Now that the theorists are becoming historians of theory on their own account, we may look for a conclusion of the bickering between rival "schools" and tendencies that have constituted such an important part of recent economic literature. From this point of view Dr. Schüller's monograph is welcome.

THE FIRST ISSUE of *The American Historical Review** makes a very happy impression and reflects great credit upon both editors and publishers. Professor William M. Sloane in a salutatory article upon "History and Democracy," takes an optimistic view of the future of historical writing in the United States. He deprecates, however, the absence of a "thorough knowledge of general history" among the students entering the somewhat specialized courses in our universities. All would agree that a thorough knowledge of general history was a desideratum, but that "the logical process of teaching is," as Professor Sloane asserts, "exactly reversed" when instruction begins with careful special study is a thesis which might perhaps be successfully combated. The only road to the general may lie through the special.

Professor Moses Coit Tyler contributes a characteristically lucid and interesting paper upon "The Party of the Loyalists in the American Revolution." He proves the existence of a relatively large cultivated class among the Tories, and shows the strength of their argument that "taxation without representation" was a constitutional principle in no way violated by the financial legislation which had offended the colonists. Mr. Henry C. Lea indicates an important bull of Sixtus IV., showing that the Holy See was, in spite of all counter-arguments, anxious for the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition. Mr. Henry Adams gives an account of a curious French adventurer, Count Edward de Crillon, who appeared in the United States in 1812, and Professor Turner, of the University

* *The American Historical Review*. Board of Editors: George B. Adams, Albert B. Hart, H. P. Judson, J. B. McMaster, William M. Sloane and H. Morse Stephens. Managing Editor, J. Franklin Jameson. Vol. I, No. 1, October, 1895. Issued Quarterly. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price of subscription, \$3 annually; single copies, \$1.

of Wisconsin, furnishes an excellent article upon "Western State Making in the Revolutionary Period." "It is," the author maintains, "the fact of the unoccupied territory in America that sets the evolution of American and European institutions in contrast." Our national development is thus best understood by a study of the occupation of the West. A department of the new review will be reserved for unpublished documents. The function of criticism is emphasized by the relatively large space, about half the magazine, devoted to book reviews. These indicate a catholicity which is susceptible of being overdone. It is to be feared that an attempt to include relatively long notices of such works as Dr. Briggs' "Messiah of the Apostles," or even of the story of "Vedic India" may crowd out other works of more strictly historical nature when we consider the mass of contributions constantly appearing on the continent of Europe. Several pages of "Notes and News" enable the historical student to follow the changes in his field of work. Should the succeeding numbers receive as general support from the leading historical writers of our country as this first issue enjoys, there is no doubt of the force which the new review will exercise in stimulating historical study in our country.

MISCELLANY.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science held its forty-fourth meeting at Springfield, Mass., commencing August 28. The first regular meeting of the Council was held at 12 m. on that day, and the subsequent meetings were held at 9 a. m. on the following days. At the first meeting 101 new members were elected, and 120 papers passed upon and assigned to the various sections.

The first general session of the Association was held on Thursday morning, August 29, at 10 o'clock. In the absence of the retiring President, Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, the chair was occupied by Vice-President Professor W. H. Brewer, who introduced the President-elect, Professor E. W. Morley, of Cleveland, O. Addresses of welcome were delivered by Hon. Charles L. Long, Mayor of Springfield, and Hon. William H. Haile, the president of the local committee. After the adjournment of the general session the various sections organized in their respective meeting places. In the afternoon the sections also met separately.

Vice-President Fernow, of Section I (Economic Science and Statistics), delivered the annual address. His subject was "The Providential Functions of Government with Special Reference to Natural Resources." Professor William R. Lazenby was elected Secretary of Section I, and Professor W. H. Brewer, Professor W. O. Atwater, and Dr. William H. Hale were elected Fellows for the Sectional Committee.

At the Thursday evening session the address of the retiring President, Dr. Brinton, on "The Aims of Anthropology," was read by the General Secretary, Mr. James L. Howe.

At the meeting of Section I on Friday morning, August 30, Mr. Henry Farquhar, of Washington, read a paper on "An International Coinage." This was followed by a paper by Mr. J. W. Sylvester upon "A System of Co-Metallism." Saturday was devoted to excursions to colleges in the neighborhood of Springfield.

At the Council meeting on Monday morning, September 2, the proposed change in the title of Section I from that of "Economic Science and Statistics," to that of "Social and Economic Science," was discussed. No action was taken until the matter should be considered by Section I.

At the meeting of Section I, held after the general session on Monday, three papers were presented: the first by Dr. William R.

Lazenby, on "Manual Training in Horticulture for Our Country Schools;" the second by Mr. J. L. Cowles, upon "Equality of Opportunity, How Can We Secure It?" which was an argument in favor of bringing the system of railway fares under the principles in use in the post-office, and of adopting the lowest rate possible. Mrs. Mary J. Eastman followed with a paper on "A Cottage Settlement." No meeting of Section I was held on Monday afternoon.

At the meeting of the Council on Tuesday morning, September 3, the President and Permanent Secretary were authorized to execute a contract with the University of Cincinnati for keeping in its library the books and periodicals belonging to the Association.

At Tuesday morning's session of Section I, Mr. Edward Atkinson's paper on "Taxation in the United States" was read in abstract by the Secretary. Mr. E. L. Corthell followed with his paper on "The Growth of Great Cities." The remaining two papers on the program on "The Law of Chance as Illustrated in Railway Accidents," by Professor T. C. Mendenhall, and "Suicide" by Mr. W. L. O'Neill, were not handed in to the section, as both gentlemen were absent. At the close of this meeting Section I adjourned for the year.

The Council on Wednesday morning, September 4, decided to hold the meeting of 1896 in Buffalo, commencing on Monday morning, August 24, at 10 o'clock. The annual election of officers was then held. Professor Edward D. Cope, of Philadelphia, was elected President of the Association. Professor F. W. Putnam, of Concord, Mass., was re-elected Permanent Secretary. Mr. Charles R. Barnes, of Madison, Wis., was elected General Secretary. Mr. R. S. Woodward, of New York City, was re-elected Treasurer. Professor William R. Lazenby, of Columbus, O., was elected Vice-President, and Mr. Richard T. Colburn, of Elizabeth, N. J., Secretary of Section I.

The last general session of the Association was held on Wednesday evening. The question of changing the name of Section I was again discussed, and the title "Sociology" was suggested. It was finally decided to adopt the name of "Social and Economic Science." The Permanent Secretary then read some statistics which showed that 367 members had been present, 185 new members were elected at this meeting, and 58 members were chosen to be Fellows. Forty-eight members and Fellows died during the past year.

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONGRESS AT SARATOGA.

The American Social Science Association met this year at Saratoga, on September 2, and remained in session four days. The address of the President, F. J. Kingsbury, LL.D., of Waterbury,

Conn., dealt with "The Tendency of Men to Dwell in Cities." The report of the Secretary, Mr. F. B. Sanborn, after mentioning the death of Mr. John W. Carter, a director of the Association, and Professor Charles Seceretan, a corresponding member, spoke of modern socialism and its impracticable aims.

The Department of Education occupied the whole day, September 3, with papers on "Naval Education," by Commander C. F. Goodrich, U. S. N.; "The Hartford School of Sociology," by Rev. Dr. C. H. Hartranft, of Hartford; "Oxford University," by Professor Henry Ferguson, of Trinity College, Hartford; and "Education in the South," by President J. D. Dreher, of Roanoke College, Virginia.

In the Health Department on September 4, the Chairman, Dr. Frederick Peterson, of New York, gave an account of "The Craig Colony for Epileptics" at Sonyea, N. Y., of which he is at the head as chairman of the board of managers; Dr. L. Duncan Bulkley, of New York, made an argument for the "Legal Control of Syphilis;" Dr. Grace Peckham Murray, of New York, read a valuable paper on "The Relation of Education to the Cerebral Development of the Child;" Dr. J. W. Brannan, of New York, Secretary of the Department, gave a brief account of the "Use of Anti-Toxine in the Prevention and Treatment of Diphtheria," and Dr. T. M. Cheeseman, of Columbia College, gave, with stereopticon illustrations, the story of "The Bacteria," and the mode of studying their relations to health and disease.

On September 5, the Jurisprudence Department presented interesting papers on "The Swiss Referendum," by E. V. Raynolds, Esq., of New Haven, Conn., on "The Prison Labor Question in New York," by Eugene Smith, Esq., and W. P. Prentice, Esq., of New York, and on the political history and "The Jurisprudence of Mexico," by Walter S. Logan, Esq., of New York. The last was followed by a full statement, by Señor Romero, Minister of Mexico, at Washington, of the points of difference between the Mexican and the American methods of legal procedure, particularly as relates to criminals.

In the two Departments of Education and Jurisprudence, interesting remarks were made by the chairmen of the departments, President G. W. Smith, of Trinity College, in the former, and Professor Francis Wayland in the latter. Professor Wayland dwelt specially on the presence in the United States of at least 300,000 habitual criminals, against whom no sufficient precautions are taken by our courts, though their way of life is well known.

The two Departments of Social Economy and Finance met on the final day of the congress, September 7. In the first-named, two papers

were read by Mr. Edward T. Potter, of Newport, R. I., on "Summer Open-Air Teaching in Cities," and "The Problem of Concentrated Residence," practical illustrations of how the evils of tenement house life may be remedied, and how music may be heard and learned by large audiences in the open air, by means of the stereopticon. A report was also read by Mr. Joseph Lee, of Brookline, Mass., on "Trade Schools," introductory to a discussion of the subject at the next year's meeting.

The Finance Department held a long debate on the free coinage of silver, at which arguments were offered in succession by A. J. Warner, Esq., of Ohio; Hon. Josiah Patterson, of Tennessee; Joseph Sheldon, Esq., of New Haven, Conn.; Roswell G. Horr, Esq., of New Jersey; Professor A. B. Woodford, of New York; Senator Anthony Higgins, of Delaware; and Mr. Anson Phelps Stokes, the treasurer of the Association. This debate was opened by a statement from Professor J. W. Jenks, chairman of the Finance Department, on the present aspect of "The Silver Question in America and Europe."

The following officers were chosen for the year 1895-96:

President, F. J. Kingsbury, LL. D., Waterbury, Conn.; First Vice-President, Rev. Dr. H. L. Wayland, Philadelphia; General Secretary, F. B. Sanborn, Concord, Mass.; Treasurer, Anson Phelps Stokes, New York. Directors: John Graham Brooks, Cambridge, Mass.; T. M. North, New York; Edward T. Potter, Newport, R. I.; Eugene Smith, New York; Oscar S. Straus, New York; Seymour Dexter, Elmira, N. Y.; E. H. Avery, Auburn, N. Y.; John L. Milligan, Allegheny, Pa.; S. M. Hotchkiss, Hartford, Conn.; Homer Folks, New York. Department Officers: I. Education, Joseph Anderson, D. D., Waterbury, Conn., Chairman. II. Health, J. W. Brannan, M. D., 11 West Twelfth Street, New York, Chairman. III. Finance, Professor J. W. Jenks, Cornell University, Chairman. IV. Social Economy, F. B. Sanborn, Concord, Mass., Chairman. V. Jurisprudence, Professor Francis Wayland, New Haven, Chairman.

Various propositions having been made looking toward the union of other associations with the Social Science Association, a committee was appointed to consider and report on these matters, and on the future policy of the American Social Science Association. This committee consists of Dr. F. J. Kingsbury, Dr. A. D. White, of Ithaca, N. Y.; Professor F. Wayland, of New Haven; Mr. A. P. Stokes, of New York, and F. B. Sanborn, Concord, Mass. It was decided to hold the next meeting at Saratoga Springs in the first week of September, 1896.

F. B. SANBORN.

Concord, Mass.

INTERNATIONAL STATISTICAL INSTITUTE.

The International Statistical Institute met at Berne from August 26 to 31st of the current year. In contrast to the last session at Chicago, the members were more numerous than the guests. It must be reckoned a success of the Berne session that nearly seventy-five of the members took part in the meetings. The sessions were followed with great interest by the economists and statisticians of Switzerland, a considerable number of whom were present as guests. Berne is moreover in some respects a most suitable place for such gatherings. The town offers but few distractions and thus favors the social intercourse which counts for so much.

The proceedings of the congress were in general sessions and in meetings of four sections treating respectively population, trade, agriculture, and social statistics.

The program of the general assembly follows:

MONDAY, AUGUST 26.

Opening address of the President, Sir RAWSON W. RAWSON. CHEYSSON (Paris). *Survey of the Losses Inflicted on the Middle Classes by the Fall of Interest on Bonds, etc.*

SCHMOLLER (Berlin). *Incomes in the Past and the Present.*

* KLECZNISKI (Cracow). *Statistics of Poland in Former Days.*

† CRUPENSKI (Bucharest). *Demography of Roumania.*

TUESDAY, AUGUST 27.—Morning Session.

BODIO (Rome). *International Mortality Statistics.*

VACHER (Paris). *The Longevity of Families.*

LEXIS (Göttingen). *Causes of Statistical Regularities.*

TROINITSKY (St. Petersburg). *The Trans-Siberian Railroad.*

Afternoon Session.

RAUCHBERG (Vienna). *The Electrical Machine Applied to the Census Analysis.*

BATEMAN (London). *The Labor Office.*

MORON (Paris). *Irregularity of Employment.*

* GRUNER (Paris). *Labor Accidents.*

RASP (Münich). *International Savings Banks Statistics Grouped by Occupations.*

Evening Session.

Public lecture on Statistical Laws, by V. MAYR (Strassburg).

* Absent.

† Read by title.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 28.—Morning Session.

DE FOVILLE (Paris). *Statistics of the Precious Metals.*

JUGLAR (Paris). *Commercial Crises.*

DENIS (Brussels). *International Organization of Labor Statistics.*

* BILLINGS (Washington). *International Military Medical Statistics.*

THURSDAY, AUGUST 29.—Morning Session.

TROINITSKY (St. Petersburg). *Russian Statistical Bibliography.*

TROINITSKY (St. Petersburg). *The First Census of Russia.*

† BORKOWSKY (St. Petersburg). *The Utilization of the Means of Communication in Russia.*

FRIDAY, AUGUST 30.—Morning Session.

CRAIGIE (London). *International Statistics of Agricultural Products.*

INAMA-STERNEGG (Vienna). *Morphology of Agricultural Labor.*

‡ KÖRÖSI (Budapest). *A Method of Determining the Influence of Climatological Elements in the Appearance of Disease.*

KÖRÖSI (Budapest). *The Measure of the Density of Dwellings.*

LEVASSEUR (Paris). *Statistics of Forests.*

Afternoon Session.

* ENGEL (Berlin). *Comparative Statement of Workingmen's Budgets in Belgium.*

KIAER (Christiania). *On the Method of Representative Enumerations, Serving as a Type of the Entire Population of a State.*

† RASERI. *Comparative Statistics of Abandoned Children.*

† OLANESCO (Bucharest). *The Anthropometrical Department.*

Evening Session.

Public Lecture on the *History of Demography*, by LEVASSEUR (Paris).

The papers did not comprise the entire proceedings of the assembly, as much time was devoted to reports of the various committees. Several motions having been presented to the Institute, they were discussed in the various sections and reported to the general assembly.

In consequence of the large number of papers the discussions of the papers and reports presented was of the most meagre kind. There

* Absent, read in abstract.

† Read by title.

‡ Absent.

was very little worthy of special notice in this feature of the proceedings. The only exception to this statement was the short address of Mr. Herman Hollerith, of Washington, the inventor of the electrical census machine. After the paper of Dr. Rauchberg, who praised the excellencies of the machine, Mr. Hollerith gave a brief statement of the points in the machine which seemed capable of improvement. The invention has solved many knotty problems in statistical processes, and Mr. Hollerith's remarks were attentively followed and generously applauded.

Certain of the resolutions adopted by the assembly were of general interest. Upon the motion of Neymarck (Paris) a committee was appointed to examine the variations in the value of personal property and on the motion of Yvern  s (Paris) a committee on the statistics of divorce. In his opening address the President had alluded to the difficulties in the action of international committees, and in the sections many members complained of the inefficiency of such an organization. Toward the latter part of the session the general assembly was reluctant to name new committees. Those who requested the formation of committees were therefore charged by the Institute with the presentation of reports at subsequent meetings on their own responsibility, after as much or as little consultation as they might desire with those members of the Institute who might be especially competent to aid in the work. It was hoped in this manner to secure more continuity in the labors of the Institute, than had been accomplished through the organization of committees.

The Section on Social Statistics took important action on the subject of wage statistics and the use of alcoholic liquors. Inama-Sternegg called attention to the inadequacy of the previous Vienna resolutions to secure good statistics of wages. He contended that the statistics of wages should be comprehensive, that is include all laborers for a given industry or a given district. He reported that such wage statistics were in contemplation in Austria and would soon be undertaken. While the section could not approve of his propositions in their entire rigor it was generally recognized that European wage statistics were for the greater part constructed on too narrow a basis, and with the formulation that such statistics should be as comprehensive as possible the section approved the propositions of the distinguished Chief of the Austrian Statistics.

Director Milliet, of the Swiss Alcohol Administration, proposed an international investigation into the statistics of the production and consumption of alcoholic liquors. He presented an elaborate formula, the purpose of which was to probe into these much quoted and very dubious figures, in order to form an appreciation of their statistical

value. After careful discussion and verbal amendment in the section it was favorably reported to the general assembly and there adopted.

It is impossible here to pick out more than a few salient points in a program which was remarkably rich. No sketch of the meeting could pretend to completeness, which did not report on the interesting work done in the sections on population, commerce and agriculture, which in their respective fields demonstrated anew, that the progress of international statistics though slow, could be accomplished by patient effort. Limited space permits only a reference.

In the first session of the Institute the following persons were elected to membership: Geering (Berne), Guyot (Paris), Mahielon (Brussels), Struve (St. Petersburg), Crupenski (Bucharest), Moron (Paris), Timiriazer (St. Petersburg), de Vershuier (Hague), and Julin (Brussels).

At the closing session the officers of the previous year were re-elected.

ROLAND P. FALKNER.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION CONFERENCE.

The conference of the friends and advocates of proportional representation was held at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., on August 27 and 28. At the opening meeting at 10 a. m., on August 27, the Hon. William Dudley Foulke, President of the Proportional Representation League, delivered the opening address. This was followed by the reading of a paper submitted by the Hon. Leonard Courtney, M. P., of London, in which he set forth the principles which were below the recent political overturn in England. The following committee was then appointed to take into consideration the various plans of proportional representation: Hon. William D. Foulke, Hon. Simon Sterne, Mr. William H. Gove, Mr. M. N. Forney, and Professor John R. Commons. Another committee consisting of Mr. W. E. Gates, Mr. Stoughton Cooley, and Mr. M. N. Forney was appointed to consider the ways and means of bringing proportional representation before the public.

A communication was read from the Secretary of State in Washington, written in reply to one from the secretary of the conference, requesting that the United States' consuls in Switzerland, Belgium, Denmark, and England should report on the methods of securing proportional representation adopted in those countries. The letter stated that the consuls had been instructed to make such reports, and the results of the investigations would be communicated to the Proportional Representation League.

Letters were then read relating to the progress proportional representation has made and the methods which have been adopted and

are proposed in Europe. These letters were from Sir John Lubbock, M. P., London; Herr R. Siegfried, Koenigsberg, Prussia; M. Charles Burkley, Zurich; M. Ernest Naville, Geneva; M. Jules Carlier, Brussels; M. Jules Gfeller, Berne, and M. T. Curie, Versailles. Letters concerning the progress of proportional representation in this country were received from Mrs. Sophie E. Carlton, of Berkeley, Cal.; Mr. John H. Cain, of Cincinnati; Mr. Lucius F. C. Garvin, of Lonsdale, R. I.; Mr. George P. Carroll, of Bridgeport, Conn., and Dr. M. R. Levenson, of Port Richmond, Staten Island, N. Y.

A resolution was adopted to appoint a committee to form a central circulating library of proportional representation literature, the books to be sent through the mails to members. Mr. W. H. Gove, Dr. M. R. Levenson, and Professor J. W. Jenks were appointed.

At the afternoon session Hon. Simon Sterne, of New York, delivered an address, in which the evils of the existing electoral system were set forth. He stated that the advocates of proportional representation must go before the public with a concrete embodiment of a method for securing proportional representation. He then explained at considerable length the D'Hondt system proposed to the Belgian Parliament. Mr. Gove then read a paper on "Some Principles Underlying Proportional Representation."

At the morning session on August 28, Mr. William E. Gates, of Cleveland, O., read a paper on "The Adaptation of the Free List System to American Conditions." Mr. Foulke then presented resolutions intended to give a succinct statement of the reasons why the reform is demanded. Mr. Sterne argued against a single vote for candidates which was proposed, and in favor of a plural vote. Dr. Levenson argued in favor of the Hare plan and if that was not acceptable he advocated the Gove plan. Mr. Gove was in favor of the single vote. Professor Commons argued for the adoption of the Swiss system with the plural vote. The resolutions and addresses were finally adopted in the following form:

"The American Proportional Representation League calls public attention to the numerous defects of our present system of representation which divides the community into districts each electing one member to our various deliberative bodies, municipal, legislative and Congressional.

"1. By this system every member of a minority party in each district remains politically unrepresented. There is a vast and unnecessary waste of votes cast for defeated candidates.

"2. It depends wholly upon the construction of the districts and often upon mere chance, whether the wishes of the majority of the people are reflected by the representative body. Often, by means of the gerrymander, the popular will is purposely thwarted by those in temporary possession of legislative power, for the purpose of securing large and unfair majorities and of retaining permanent control of the representative body.

"3. Men who think alike and desire to vote together are prevented from co-operating by arbitrary district lines, and by the same means voters are thrown together who are not limited by common sentiments and interests and who cannot properly select any common representative.

"4. By creating closely contested districts where the change of a few votes will alter the result, the present system furnishes special facilities for carrying elections by the bribery of a small percentage of electors.

"5. The election of representatives from small districts leads to the selection of small men, 'available candidates' of weak convictions, poor talents, whereby the character of the representative body is greatly impaired.

"6. In place of the district system the Conference of the League held at Saratoga, August 27, 1895, invites consideration of the system now in operation in several of the Swiss cantons, where the people are divided into large constituencies, each one of these electing a number of representatives by means of proportional representation. The entire vote in each constituency is divided by the number of members to be elected from each. This gives the quota of representation or the number of voters who are entitled to one representative. Each party then receives as many representatives as it has quotas in the vote polled. The candidates in the list of each party who receive the highest number of votes are the ones returned. Any candidate receiving an independent nomination is treated as a separate party. This Conference recommends the Swiss system as applicable to our institutions and to our present Australian system of voting. It has been found practically successful after the trial of four years in Switzerland, where it has given a just system of representation and has elevated the character of legislative assemblies.

"7. The Swiss system secures greater liberty to the voter by allowing him to choose his candidate from all parts of a large constituency, instead of from a small one electing a single member. It requires just representation, it makes the gerrymander impossible, it lessens corruption, it greatly diminishes the number of wasted votes and the disaffection of a hopeless minority, and it secures men of greater independence and higher character for the representative body.

"We especially recommend this system for early adoption in our various municipal elections."

A committee, consisting of Professor Commons, Mr. Cooley, and Professor Jenks, was appointed to examine into the Swiss methods, and the proper plan of adapting them to the Australian ballot system and to our institutions, and the committee was authorized to publish the same for purposes of information only.

The same officers of the American Proportional Representation League were re-elected, as follows: President, Hon. William Dudley Foulke, of Richmond, Ind.; Vice-Presidents, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, of Boston, Hon. T. L. Johnson, of Cleveland, O., and Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, of Boston; Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. Stoughton Cooley, of Chicago.

In addition to the papers read at the meetings, the following papers were submitted to the conference: "A Suggested Modification of the Hare System," by Mr. Henry W. Williams, of Baltimore; "The Double Vote," by Dr. Jean Du Buy, of New Haven, Conn.; "Organization Representation," by Mr. C. Henderson Smith, of

Galena, Ill; "Emancipation of the Voter," by Mr. Charles Francis Adams, of Boston; "The Ticino Plan of Proportional Representation," by Mr. Edmond Kelly, of New York City; "Some Considerations for the Proportional Representation Conference," by Dr. L. B. Tuckerman, of Cleveland, O.; "Proportional Representation in Presidential Elections," by Hon. William H. Springer, of Muskogee, Ind. Ter.; "Proportional Representation," by Mr. H. Claes, of Malines, Belgium; "Swiss System of Representation," by Mr. Stoughton Cooley, of Chicago. Papers were also submitted by Mr. Alfred Cridge, of San Francisco, and by Mr. John M. Berry, of Millbury, Mass.

THE INTERNATIONAL DEEP WATERWAYS CONVENTION.

The first annual convention of the International Deep Waterways Association was held at Cleveland, O., on September 24, 25 and 26. The main object of the convention was the formulation of a series of scientific papers that should present the question of deep waterways in such a manner as to form a text-book for the popular presentation of the subject for all future time. The following was the program of the meeting:

1. "International Comity and Co-operation"—Annual address of President O. A. HOWLAND, M. P. P., Toronto.
2. "Historical and Critical Statement of the Deep Water Movement"—Report of the Executive Secretary, Hon. FRANK A. FLOWER, Superior, Wis.
3. "Economics of Deep Water Transportation"—Hon. F. W. WHEELER, ship builder, West Bay City, Mich.
4. "Ultimate Effect of Deep Water from the Great Lakes to the Sea" on—
 - a. The Development of Our Mineral Resources, CHARLES RICHARD VAN HISE, Ph. D., Professor of Geology, University of Wisconsin.
 - b. Domestic Iron Mining, Hon. MARTIN PATTISON, owner of Vermillion range Bessemer mines, Superior, Wis.
 - c. Iron and Steel Manufacturing, ARTHUR J. MOXHAM, president of the Johnson Co., Lorain and Cleveland, O., and Johnstown, Pa.
 - d. Domestic Lumber and Timber Trade, RICHARD R. DOBELL, of Dobell, Beckett & Co., Quebec, and Richard R. Dobell & Co., London, timber exporters, Quebec; also, A. L. CROCKER, President Minneapolis Board of Trade and Chairman Executive Board International Deep Waterways Association.

- e.* The Grain and Flour Business, LOU R. HURD, secretary and manager of the Daisy Roller Mill Co., Superior, Wis.
- f.* Agricultural Interests, Hon. HENRY C. HANSBROUGH, United States Senator from North Dakota, Devil's Lake.
- g.* Domestic Ship Building, GEORGE TUNELL, Fellow in economics, University of Chicago, Albert Lea, Minn.
- h.* Railway Traffic and Earnings, EMORY R. JOHNSON, Ph. D., Instructor in Transportation and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania, and Instructor in Economics, Haverford College; also, LEWIS M. HAUPT, A. M., C. E., canal and railway builder, Philadelphia.
- i.* Lakeboard and Seaboard Cities, E. V. SMALLEY, President St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, and proprietor *Northwest Magazine*, St. Paul.
- 5. "Necessities and Advantages of a Ship Canal from the Great Lakes to the Sea"—DENISON B. SMITH, Secretary Toledo Produce Exchange, Toledo.
- 6. "Volume and Value of Commerce Tributary to an Enlarged Interior Waterway"—JAMES FISHER, Q. C., M. P. P., Winnipeg.
- 7. "New York and Deep Water to the Great Lakes"—Dr. ALBERT SHAW, editor *Review of Reviews*; also, THOMAS C. CLARKE, C. E., M. A. S. C. E., M. A. S. M. E., M. A. I. M. E., M. I. of C. E. of Great Britain, New York.
- 8. "Western Needs of Cheaper Bulk Transportation"—E. ROSEWATER, editor *Omaha Bee*, Omaha.
- 9. "High Sea Rules and Regulations on the Great Lakes"—Lieut. GEORGE P. BLOW, U. S. N., Chicago.
- 10. "Regulation of the Outflow and Levels of the Great Lakes"—GEORGE Y. WISNER, C. E., M. A. S. C. E., Detroit; also, THOS. T. JOHNSON, assistant chief engineer of the Chicago Canal; also, G. W. BLAISDELL, Waverly, O.
- 11. "Relation of Drift Deposits to Canal Routes"—Professor G. F. WRIGHT, Oberlin, O.
- 12. "Comparative Study of Modern Ship Canals"—CHARLES FRANCIS, C. E., M. A. S. C. E., Davenport, Ia.
- 13. "Pneumatic and Hydraulic Locks"—CHAUNCEY N. DUTTON, C. E., general manager Maritime Canal of North America, Washington, D. C.
- 14. "Is a Type of Vessel to Navigate Fresh and Salt Water Practicable?"—JOSEPH R. OLDHAM, N. A., M. E., Cleveland.
- 15. "Modern Methods of Canal Excavation"—ISHAM RANDOLPH, C. E., chief engineer, Chicago sanitary and ship canal, Chicago.

16. "Cost, Character and Utility of Existing Great Lakes, St. Lawrence and Champlain Improvements"—THOMAS C. KEEFER, C. E., ex-chief engineer of the Dominion of Canada, Ottawa.
17. "Necessity for a Ship Channel to New York"—THOS. P. ROBERTS, C. E., Pittsburgh.
18. "Effect of Cheaper Transportation upon Civilization and Christianity"—Archbishop JOHN IRELAND, St. Paul.
19. "Basis for Co-operation by the United States and Canada in Canal Construction and Management"—Hon. FRANK A. FLOWER, Superior, Wis.
20. "Ultimate Development of Water Transportation"—LYMAN E. COOLEY, C. E., trustee, Chicago sanitary and ship canal, Chicago.

Each paper was printed in advance in full to facilitate discussion. Most of the papers were read only in abstract.

The first session was held on Tuesday afternoon, September 24, and was devoted to the address of welcome by Mayor R. E. McKisson, of Cleveland, and the responses on behalf of the Association by President O. A. Howland; on behalf of the United States, by Mr. E. V. Smalley, President of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce; and on behalf of Canada, by Hon. James Fisher, of Winnipeg. The secretary then read a number of letters of regret. This was followed by an address by Mr. Thomas H. Canfield, of Burlington, Vt., the pioneer of the deep waterways movement.

At the evening session, President Howland delivered his annual address (No. 1 on the program). As indicated by its title, he dwelt more particularly upon the international aspects of the work of the Deep Waterways Association.

At the session on Wednesday morning, Mr. Ambrose P. McQuirk, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, announced that there were present three hundred and thirty delegates from fifteen States and Provinces. Mr. Thomas Munro was the official representative of the Canadian government at the convention, and Lieutenant George P. Blow, U. S. N., the official representative of the United States. Mr. Richard R. Dobell and Mr. A. L. Crocker then presented their papers (No. 4 *d* on the program). They were followed by Mr. D. B. Smith, who read his paper (No. 5). Hon. James Fisher then presented his paper (No. 6), and Mr. George Y. Wisner his paper (No. 10). In the absence of Mr. A. J. Moxham, his paper (No. 4 *c*), was read by Mr. Charles E. Wheeler.

In the afternoon, Secretary Flower read the paper prepared by Dr. Emory R. Johnson (No. 4 *h*). Professor Haupt then presented his

paper upon the same subject. Mr. Thomas T. Johnson and G. W. Blaisdell followed with their papers (No. 10). After this, the probable effect of the Chicago canal on the lake levels was discussed by the convention. Mr. B. A. Eckhart, of the Chicago Chamber of Commerce, Mr. M. M. Drake, of Buffalo, and Mr. L. E. Cooley, the United States Vice-President of the Association, took part in the discussion.

At the Wednesday evening's session, Mr. William Jennings, of Toronto, read the paper written by Mr. Thomas C. Keefer (No. 16), and Mr. Joseph R. Oldham read his paper (No. 14). Mr. Frank Winter, President of the Chicago Drainage Board, then addressed the convention in defence of the Chicago canal. He was followed by Captain Alexander McDougal, the builder of the "whaleback" steamers, who argued that it would not pay to build or use vessels adapted for both lake and ocean service. Mr. I. Randolph then read his paper (No. 15).

At the session on Thursday morning, the officers of the Deep Waterways Association were re-elected for the ensuing year. They are as follows: International President, Hon. O. A. Howland, M. P. P., Toronto; United States Vice-President, Mr. L. E. Cooley, C. E., Chicago; Canadian Vice-President, Hon. James Fisher, Q. C., M. P. P., Winnipeg; Executive Secretary, Hon. Frank A. Flower, Superior, Wis.; Treasurer, Captain J. S. Dunham, Chicago.

The following members of the Executive Board were re-elected: A. L. Crocker, Minneapolis; Frank A. Flower, Superior, Wis.; Captain J. S. Dunham, Chicago; James Conmee, Port Arthur, Ont.; Hon. H. W. Seymour, Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.; R. R. Dobell, Quebec; Thomas H. Canfield, Burlington, Vt.; D. B. Smith, Toledo; and Hon. S. M. Stephenson, Menominee, Mich., and the following new members were added to the board: George H. Anderson, Pittsburgh; E. C. O'Brien, New York; A. P. McQuirk, Davenport, Ia.; E. V. Smalley, St. Paul; A. H. Burke, Duluth; Don M. Dickinson, Detroit; Ryerson Ritchie, Cleveland; Frank Hearne, Wheeling, W. Va.

The first paper of Thursday, the twenty-sixth, was by Mr. George Tunell (No. 4 g). In the debate which followed, Mr. Alexander R. Smith, of New York, argued that the prosperity of foreign shipping was due to subsidies. The question of enlarging the Erie canal so as to make a ship canal of it, was then discussed. Mr. C. N. Dutton, of Washington; Mr. G. Lindenthal, of New York; Professor L. M. Haupt, of Philadelphia; Mr. J. A. C. Wright, of Rochester; Mr. Thomas P. Roberts, of Pittsburgh; Mr. A. R. Smith, of New York; Mr. D. B. Smith, of Toledo, and Hon. H. W. Seymour, of

Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., took part in the discussion, the general impression being that it was not practicable to make a waterway for ships out of the Erie canal.

At the afternoon session a number of short speeches were made by some of the prominent delegates. The Committee on Resolutions then made its report through its chairman, Mr. L. E. Cooley. The resolutions adopted by the convention are as follows:

Recognizing the supreme utility of deep waterways through the great lakes and thence to the sea, and reaffirming in full the platform adopted at the organizing convention held at Toronto in 1894, the International Deep Waterways Association, in first convention assembled, declares as follows:

1. That the public welfare demands the deepest practicable channels between the several lakes and to the seaboard to enable vessels of the most economical type to pass between lake ports, or between the lakes and the seaboard or to foreign waters, without the necessity of trans-shipment.

2. That the said requirements call for a least depth of twenty-one feet in all channels and the building of all permanent structures for a navigable depth of twenty-six feet or more in order that the water courses may be progressively and economically deepened to the ultimate necessities of traffic.

3. That the prompt action of the Congress of the United States and the government of the Dominion of Canada providing for a joint commission to investigate and report upon the establishment and maintenance of deep water between the great lakes and the sea, conformably to the resolution adopted at Toronto in 1894, is a matter for congratulation, and that in view of the extended scope and great importance of the subjects to be examined by the said commission, this convention urges that the most liberal provision be made for the necessary expenses.

4. That the broadening of the channels through the connecting shallows between Lakes Erie and Huron and Lakes Huron and Superior, as recommended by lake carriers, is urgently demanded by the interests of commerce and is in line with the progressive development of a great trunk water route.

5. That the international interest in the great fresh water seas of the American continent and in the ship routes joining them to the ocean is recognized and that the use of their waters and the control of their levels are proper subjects for international regulations.

6. That pending the development of the best deep channel or channels to the ocean, the promised early completion by the Canadian government of the St. Lawrence canals, if possible with lengthened locks, will result in marked benefit to international commerce and to the producers of the interior; likewise, that the movement in the State of New York toward lessening the cost of transportation to tide water by improving the Erie canal, which must have a permanent value, is noted with satisfaction by this convention.

7. That with respect to the several resolutions offered concerning local canal projects all enterprises designed to extend marine commerce through lateral routes tributary to the great lakes system are to be encouraged.

That this convention calls special and renewed attention to the desirability of establishing a permanent international court as set forth in the organizing convention in Toronto in 1894.

The place and time of holding the next meeting were referred to the Executive Board.

THE NATIONAL PRISON ASSOCIATION.

The Annual Congress of the National Prison Association for the year 1895 met in Denver from September 14 to September 18. The first session was held on the evening of Saturday, September 14; the Hon. Charles D. Hayt, Chief Justice of the Colorado Supreme Court, presided. Addresses of welcome were delivered by the Governor, Hon. Albert W. McIntire, and the Mayor of Denver, Hon. Thomas A. McMurray. The President of the Association, General R. Brinkerhoff, then delivered the annual address.

On Sunday morning, September 15, Rev. William F. Slocum, D. D., President of the State Board of Charities and Corrections, delivered the annual sermon before the congress. His subject was, "The Element of Justice in Charity." On account of the absence of both the Rev. Fred. H. Wines and Miss Jane Addams, their papers on "The Methods for the Prevention of Crime" were not presented to the congress at the Sunday evening session. This session was devoted to short addresses by a number of prison chaplains, including the Rev. Dr. Hickox, of Michigan, Chaplain Albert, of Minnesota, and Chaplain Bradshaw, of Pennsylvania.

On Monday morning, September 16, the Wardens' Association held its meeting. Colonel R. S. Allen, Warden of the State Penitentiary at Joliet, Ill., read the first paper; his subject was, "The State Account System of the Employment of Convicts in the Penitentiary." This was followed by a paper on "The Parole System in the Penitentiary," read by the Rev. Henry Wolfer, Warden of the State Prison at Stillwater, Minn. In the absence of Hon. Warren F. Spalding, of Boston, his paper on "The State Prison Parole" was read by a colleague. The paper by Major R. W. McClaughy, entitled "An Interview with M. Bertillon," which was on the program for this session, was not presented to the congress. In place of this Mr. J. S. Appel, of the Colorado State Board of Charities and Corrections, told of the unsuccessful efforts made to pass an indeterminate sentence bill through the last session of the Legislature.

The Chaplains' Association met on Monday afternoon, when the following program was carried out:

Annual address by the President, Rev. GEORGE H. HICKOX, D. D., Chaplain Michigan State Prison, Jackson, Mich., on "The Responsibility of the Chaplain."

A paper by Rev. J. H. ALBERT, Chaplain of the State Prison, Stillwater Minn., on "Barriers Against Crime."

An address by the Secretary of the Chaplains' Association, Rev. WILLIAM J. BATT, Concord Junction, Mass., on "A Few Prison Problems."

General discussion of the papers.

The paper by Professor Amos G. Warner, on "Politics and Crime," was read at the Monday evening session by Mr. John W. Dryden, of

Kearney, Neb. It created a considerable sensation, by reason of the fearless manner in which the question of blackmail by the police was discussed.

The sessions on Tuesday morning and afternoon, September 17, were devoted to miscellaneous business and hearing reports of the standing committees on Prison Discipline, on Discharged Prisoners, and on Prevention and Reformatory Work. In the evening, Rev. J. H. Crooker, of Helena, Mont., delivered an address on "The Ethical Aspect of Crime."

Wednesday, September 18, the last day of the congress, was devoted to hearing committee reports in the morning and in the afternoon. In the evening, Mr. Z. R. Brockway, Superintendent of the New York State Reformatory, delivered an address.

The question as to the place of meeting in 1896 was left to the decision of the Executive Committee. Grand Rapids, Mich., seemed to find the most favor.

VACATION COURSES IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

There is no better evidence of the growing popular interest in economic and political subjects than the attention given to them in the programs of the various schools, conventions and meetings which have become such a characteristic feature of American summer life. The number of associations devoted to the study and investigation of the important problems of our social and political life, has become very large and their meetings very frequent. The gatherings of such associations, however, are attended chiefly by persons who make more or less of a profession of either the science or art of the respective subjects; they do not, of course, furnish an adequate index of the public or popular interest in such questions. The fact, however, of such an interest is proven by the large number of classes and clubs formed in the various communities for the study of some one or another of the great questions of theory or practice which vex our modern society, and the students belonging to these classes or groups find it necessary at some time in the year, if possible, to meet with other like-minded persons for a longer or shorter session of serious study of such problems under the direction of experts. Thus, the various associations or institutions which provide for summer meetings, find it necessary to increase steadily the share of attention given to the subjects under discussion.

Such an institution as Chicago University, which undertakes to carry on its regular educational work through four quarters in the year, provides, of course, opportunities for the study of economics

VACATION COURSES IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICS. 187

and politics during the three summer months in the same generous way as during the other three-quarters of the year. The various Chautauqua assemblies, now held in so many different States, find it necessary to make special and liberal provision for lectures and courses in this department, and a full report of the work which they are doing can be found in the official publications of that group of organizations.

In addition to these facilities for the pursuit of such subjects during the vacation, there were in the summer of 1895 three notable centres for such study, namely, the University Extension Summer Meeting at Oxford, England; the corresponding American meeting at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; and the School of Applied Ethics at Plymouth, Mass.

Vacation Courses in Economics and Politics at Oxford.

The following statement of courses in Economics and Politics, given at Oxford during the University Extension Summer Meeting, has been furnished by Mr. J. A. R. Marriott, secretary to the delegates :

LECTURER.	NAME OF COURSE.	NO. OF LECTURES.	AVERAGE NO. OF STUDENTS.
Graham Wallas	English Towns in 18th Century	3	450
Rev. T. W. Fowle	The Poor Law in 18th Century	3	185-200
L. L. Price	Adam Smith	1	250
Sir R. Pearce Edgcumbe	Currency	2	200
J. A. Hobson	*Economics	6	200

"No precise record of attendance is kept; the figures in the last column are, therefore, only approximately correct, but they serve to illustrate what is otherwise remarkable, the very great interest which is taken in the study of economics. Each year of late we have given to economics a more and more prominent place in our program of summer meeting studies, and each year our students, I think I may affirm with confidence, have shown themselves more and more eager to avail themselves of the lectures provided for them. The general idea underlying the arrangement of courses at the present summer meeting has been this: First, during the earlier portion of the meeting to lay a foundation of economic history in relation to the eighteenth century, and then, in the latter part, to follow this up by a course of more advanced lectures on the development of economic theory between Adam Smith's day and our own."

*Cost theory of value, theory of rent, wages, capital and interest, division of labor, free trade, wealth.

The London School of Economics and Political Science, an account of which was given in the September number of the *ANNALS*,* proposes to organize a similar series of vacation studies for next year in London.

Vacation Courses in Economics and Politics at Philadelphia.

The American Society for the Extension of University Teaching recognized from the very first inception of its work, that as the education of the citizen was perhaps as good a formulation of the general idea underlying the extension movement as could be made, so in its work special facilities should be provided for the study of economics and politics.

Its first President, Professor Edmund J. James, was known for his interest in the better training of our citizens in such subjects. One of the first staff lectureships established by the society was that in Economics, filled by the appointment of Dr. Edward T. Devine, who subsequently became Secretary of the Society. The growing recognition on the part of the Society that its work must, to a large extent, consist of efforts to broaden and deepen the conception of the education of the citizen, was seen in the conversion of its official publications entitled, *The University Extension Magazine*, and *The University Extension Bulletin*, into a periodical entitled *The Citizen*.

When the society found it necessary to organize a Summer Meeting, it made liberal provision from the very beginning for the new subjects of study, and the session which was held during July at the University of Pennsylvania, gave special emphasis to the work in Civics and Politics.

Professor Woodrow Wilson, of Princeton University, gave a course of five lectures on "The Constitutional Government of the United States;" Professor J. W. Jenks, of Cornell University, a course of five lectures on "Politics in the Modern Democracy;" Professor Henry Carter Adams, of the University of Michigan, a course of five lectures on "Relation of the State to Industrial Society."

Professor Edmund J. James, of the University of Pennsylvania, delivered a course of ten lectures on "The American Citizen: His Privileges and Immunities;" Dr. Talcott Williams, of the Philadelphia Press, two lectures on "Political Parties;" Professor Albert B. Hart, of Harvard University, three lectures on "American Politics;" Professor William G. Sumner, of Yale University, two lectures on "Militarism" and "Industrialism."

* *ANNALS*, September, 1895. Pp. 87-93.

VACATION COURSES IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICS. 189

Dr. Albert A. Bird, Staff Lecturer to the University Extension Society, gave five lectures on "The Municipal Government of Philadelphia;" Professor E. R. L. Gould, of Chicago University, three lectures on "Social Problems of Cities;" Professor William Bayard Hale, of Middleboro, Mass., five lectures on "Social Ideas and Social Realities;" Professor Roland P. Falkner, of the University of Pennsylvania, two lectures on "The Relation of the State to Crime;" Dr. Edward Everett Hale, of Boston, four lectures on "Social Reform."

Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Secretary of the National Municipal League, gave two lectures on "Municipal Reform Associations;" Colonel A. K. McClure, of the Philadelphia *Times*, one lecture on "Abraham Lincoln as a Statesman;" Professor Bernadotte Perrin, of Yale University, a course of five lectures on "Greek Statesmen;" Professor William A. Hammond, of Cornell University, two lectures on "Plato and Aristotle as Political Thinkers," and Professor William A. Lamberton, of the University of Pennsylvania, on "Greek Conception of Man, Political." It will be seen that this program was not only an unusually rich one, but that it was well thought out, the various parts being carefully considered.

Vacation Courses in Economics and Politics at Plymouth, Mass.

The School of Applied Ethics, which held its fifth session from July 7 to August 9, 1895, at Plymouth, Mass., has given from the very beginning a liberal share of attention to economic and social topics. We are indebted to Professor Henry C. Adams, of the University of Michigan, and Dean of the school, and to Mr. S. Burns Weston, Secretary and Treasurer, for the data of the following notice:

The leading feature was a treatment from three different points of view of the functions of government so far as they are determined by industrial considerations. Professor John B. Clark, of Columbia College; Professor Henry C. Adams, of the University of Michigan; and Professor J. W. Jenks, of Cornell University, represented the three different points of view. Professor Clark gave a course of five lectures on "The Relation of Economics and Politics;" Professor Adams, a course of similar length on "The Relation of Government to Industry," and another of four lectures on "Taxation: Its Political, Industrial and Social Significance;" Professor Jenks three lectures on "The Comparative Study of Industrial Legislation." Professor E. R. L. Gould, of Chicago University, gave five lectures on "Industrial Labor in Europe and the United States;" Professor Arthur T. Hadley, of Yale, three lectures on "Economic Terms."

One day was devoted to a labor conference, in which Mr.

MacNeil and Mr. Carlton, of Boston; Mr. King, of New York; Mr. McGuire, of Philadelphia, and others took part. The views expressed were conservative, earnest and hopeful.

Professor Felix Adler gave a course of six lectures on "The Ethical Aspect of Some Labor Problems;" Mr. F. J. Stimson, of Boston, four lectures on "The Growth and Tendency of the Law upon Labor Questions;" Mr. W. L. Sheldon, of St. Louis, two lectures on "Social Reform;" Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell, of Boston, three lectures on "The Referendum in Europe and the United States;" Rev. Dr. H. L. Wayland, of Philadelphia, on "The Relation of State and Church."

The number of men in attendance was considerably larger this year than ever before. They consisted chiefly of clergymen, college instructors, teachers, graduate students, lawyers, physicians and journalists.

NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

[This department of the *ANNALS* will endeavor to place before the members of the Academy matters of interest which serve to illustrate the municipal activity of the larger cities of Europe and America. Among the contributors are: James W. Pryor, Esq., Secretary City Club, New York City; Sylvester Baxter, Esq., Boston *Herald*, Boston; Samuel B. Capen, Esq., President Municipal League, Boston; A. L. Crocker, Esq., President Board of Trade, Minneapolis; Victor Rosewater, Ph. D., Omaha *Bee*, Omaha; Professor John Henry Gray, Chairman Committee on Municipal Affairs, Civic Federation, Chicago; Jerome H. Raymond, Ph. D., University of Wisconsin; F. L. Siddons, Esq., Washington, D. C.; Donald B. MacLaurin, Esq., President Civic Federation, Detroit, Mich.; Professor A. C. Richardson, Buffalo, N. Y.; M. B. May, Esq., Cincinnati, Ohio; W. B. Spencer, Esq., New Orleans; William H. Parry, Esq., Comptroller City of Seattle, Wash.]

AMERICAN CITIES.

The Development of the Street Railway System.

Several recent publications have furnished interesting material tending to show the remarkable development of the street railway system in the United States, but more especially the change from horse and cable to electric motive power. One of the most complete and recent of these compilations appears in the *Street Railway Journal* for July, 1895.* The statistics of different sections of the country give the following data:

	Miles of Track.				Capital Stock.	Funded Debt.	Total Capital Liabilities.
	HORSE.	ELECTRIC.	CABLE.	MISCELLANEOUS			
N. E. States .	168	1,392			\$53,778,300	\$43,546,000	\$97,324,300
Eastern States	567	3,189	157	189	348,194,073	249,318,505	597,512,578
Central States	555	3,578	252	134	222,641,025	173,567,500	396,208,525
Southern States	214	743	6	213	33,155,725	23,578,900	56,734,625
Western States	410	1,461	217	143	90,245,083	62,114,600	152,359,683
United States .	1914	10,363	632	679	748,014,206	552,125,505	1,300,139,711

From these figures it will be seen that at the present time over seventy-five per cent of the street railways of the country have adopted electricity as a motive power. The changes, however, are going on so rapidly that the statistics of a few months later might have increased this percentage materially.

* *Street Railway Journal*. Published by the Street Railway Publishing Company, Havemeyer Building, New York City.

Another remarkable fact which these figures show very clearly is the high capitalization of the roads. The report of the Interstate Commerce Commission shows that the average per mile capitalization of the steam railroads is but \$60,200, about $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent less than the electric roads which show a capitalization of over \$95,000 per mile. In this respect the different States show very considerable discrepancies. Thus, in the New England States the total capital liabilities, per mile of track, is highest in Rhode Island with \$146,800 and lowest in New Hampshire with \$15,700. In the Eastern States, New York leads with \$207,100 while Delaware is lowest with \$37,200 per mile. In the Central States, the per mile capitalization is highest in Illinois with \$128,500; lowest in Michigan with \$43,100. In the Southern States, Louisiana leads with \$113,400, while the lowest point is reached in Mississippi where the per mile capitalization is but \$10,300. In the Western States, the highest point is reached in California with \$101,100; the lowest is South Dakota with \$12,100. As a result of this high capitalization, there is a wide discrepancy in the relation between total steam railroad mileage and total street railway mileage on the one hand, and between total steam railroad capitalization and total street railway capitalization on the other. As regards the former, a recent compilation shows that with 178,700 miles of steam railway there are but 13,588 miles of street railway. In other words, a relation of nearly fourteen to one. As regards the capitalization, however, the ratio is as \$10,796,473,813 is to \$1,300,139,701, that is, about as eight to one.

New York City.—The approaching elections promise to put the independent reform organizations, but more especially the Good Government Clubs, to a very severe test. The officers to be elected are County Clerk, Register, three Justices of the Supreme Court, two Judges of the Court of General Sessions and three Justices of the newly constituted City Court. For some time past several prominent members of the Executive Committee of the Confederated Good Government Clubs, have been endeavoring to promote sentiment in favor of a union of all the Anti-Tammany forces. In the report of the committee submitted to the nominating convention eleven members favored such a course whereas a minority report signed by nine members advocated the nomination of an independent ticket. After a heated debate the minority proposition was adopted. Thus the Good Government Clubs have definitely broken with all of the existing political parties, standing on the principle that any alliance is certain to introduce a partisan element and thus defeat one of the main ends of the organization. This action has been the subject of

severe criticism by some of the older members of the reform movement, who look upon it as the inconsiderate action of youthful enthusiasts. Immediately after this action was taken by the Good Government Clubs, the Chamber of Commerce, through its Committee of Fifty, determined to confer with the regular Republican organization for the purpose of placing a fusion ticket in the field. After several conferences, a compromise ticket was agreed upon, in which certain concessions were made to partisan considerations. These candidates the Good Government Clubs have refused to accept, so that at present the Anti-Tammany forces are so divided as to make the success of Tammany Hall in the coming election extremely probable. Whatever the outcome of the struggle may be, the Good Government Clubs will have the satisfaction of maintaining and strictly adhering to the principle of non-partisanship, which is the fundamental plank in their platform. The candidates they have placed in the field are recognized as meeting the highest standards of qualification. The same can hardly be said for the fusion ticket.

Philadelphia.—On the first of October, the consolidation of nearly ninety-five per cent of all the street railway lines of Philadelphia was effected. From that date the three great companies, controlling about 420 out of a total of 470 miles of street railway, are united under the name of the Union Traction Company. This process of consolidation has been going on with great rapidity since 1883. The incorporation of the three important companies—Philadelphia Traction Company, Electric Traction Company and Peoples' Traction Company—marked a new era in the history of the street railway system of Philadelphia. With almost unlimited capital at their disposal, these companies were enabled to effect rapid changes in the equipment of the roads, and also great improvements in the service. While the new arrangement practically amounts to consolidation, the actual process has been first a consolidation of the Electric Traction and the Peoples' Traction under the name of the Union Traction Company, which latter company has leased the Philadelphia Traction Company's lines for a period of 999 years. This lease, which was signed on the 7th of October, provides that all the lines formerly leased to the Philadelphia Traction Company are now to be placed under the control of the new company. For this, the Union Traction Company agrees to pay an annual rental of \$1,600,000 in gold coin, and, furthermore, to assume all contracts and pay all debts, with the exception of the bonded indebtedness of over \$1,000,000, which is to be gradually liquidated by the Philadelphia Traction Company; in return for which this company is to receive the collateral securities deposited to insure the

payment of this debt. The new company whose capital stock, mileage and rolling stock are far greater than any other company in the United States, will have an opportunity to greatly extend the single-fare transfer system and also to extend the lines. But the vast corporate powers thus formed will call for a far greater control over the companies by Councils and the Department of Public Works than has heretofore been the case. In this respect the past experience of the city does not enter as the most encouraging element.

Various ordinances recently introduced into Councils give evidences of a tendency on the part of a section of that body to require some adequate return for franchises granted. The most recent of these is a public telephone ordinance, which, if passed, will assure to the city an efficient service, at such rates as to bring this convenience within the possibilities of a large portion of the population. The ordinance calls for the sale of the privilege to construct, maintain and operate a telephone system, requires the company to specify what percentage of gross receipts they will agree to pay, and also the rates to be charged the public for the service. The ordinance furthermore provides for a free service to be maintained in all of the city's public buildings, and places a suitable safeguard to protect the city from financial losses through an adequate capitalization.

The street railway companies, which, during the year 1894, have laid over 131 miles of improved pavements, have recently entered a protest against the destruction of the asphalted streets through excavations made by telephone and telegraph companies, as well as by various city departments. In this movement, the Philadelphia Traction Company has taken the lead. In a communication of the president, to the Mayor of the city, Mr. Widener threatens to disclaim all responsibility for the condition of the streets, unless all persons and corporations who are permitted to open the streets be also required to thoroughly repave them from curb to curb. The problem is a serious one inasmuch as a great part of the paving was hurriedly done, leaving but little time for the laying of conduits, water and gas pipes, and for repair of the same.

The Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Municipal League of Philadelphia has just been published. The work of the year has been especially fruitful in strengthening the central organization, and in increasing the number and importance of the ward associations. Of these latter there are fifteen, an increase of five over the preceding year. The membership of the League has been increased from 2044 to 3693 during the same period.

The municipal campaign of 1895, while not entirely satisfactory to the League in the actual results obtained, still showed that the

organization was rapidly becoming an important factor in local politics. Its candidates for Councilmen all received a considerable number of votes, although very few were elected.

The League has not been confining its activity to campaigning. Throughout the year the attention of the authorities and citizens of Philadelphia has been called to matters of importance requiring immediate action. In this work the League has been very successful, having succeeded in preventing the passage of several ordinances which threatened to do much harm to the city's interests.

Chicago.—Through the efforts of the Civic Federation, ably aided by the City Engineer, there has recently been disclosed a plan of systematic fraud carried on in connection with the city's water works. An investigation of the water supply in the stockyard district, has shown the existence of a large number of water pipes, which, though connected with the mains, were not furnished with meters. In some of the largest establishments, six and twelve-inch pipes furnishing millions of gallons daily, for which the city received nothing in return, were found. It is estimated by the City Engineer that of the fifty million gallons of water pumped every day into this district, by far the greater portion represented an actual loss to the city treasury. Both civil and criminal suits are to be instituted against the offending parties, and not until these come to trial, will the exact nature and extent of the city's loss be ascertained.

San Francisco.*—One question which is being considered by advocates of municipal reform, is whether the movement shall be carried on entirely independent of regular political organizations, and to what extent, and how the object may be better attained by an effort to reform these organizations. Three years ago, a non-partisan organization was effected with a platform which provided for a full municipal ticket. No candidate who endorsed the platform of either political party could receive its nomination. There was some difficulty in securing suitable candidates: First, from the dread of public office: second, because of the hesitation of ambitious members of the evenly balanced parties to break loose from party ties. A measure of success was attained, but some very earnest workers were discouraged by the failure of the voters of the city to rally to their support. Last year a change was made and the non-partisans largely selected their candidates from the regular party ticket. It is now quite generally agreed that it was a mistake, and the probability is, that next year a return will be made to the original plan,

* Communication of I. T. Milliken.

trusting to the educational process which is surely making itself felt. A very suggestive object lesson has been given the city on differences between the business and the spoils system. The street cleaning department had been run under the latter system for many years. Two years ago unpleasant discoveries were accidentally made, the spoils had not been satisfactorily divided and a halt was called. Last year the Merchants' Association, an organization of public-minded citizens, took hold, raised a fund by voluntary subscription, and the result of its work was a revelation to the long-suffering taxpayers. Starting in a season of general business depression, the association employed, at a low rate of wages, men who had families to support but who would have lacked the "influence" to obtain positions under the old system. Since July 1st, the street cleaning has been under the control of the Superintendent of Streets. This official has the confidence of the citizens to a greater extent than any of his predecessors for years past, but, as he was the successful nominee of a political party, and compelled to pay higher wages, the difference in the condition of the streets is already too noticeable.

Cincinnati.*—Cincinnati has severely felt the effects of the currency agitation. The Sinking Fund Trustees of the city of Cincinnati, in the interest of the taxpayers, desired to refund certain outstanding four per cent bonds, by redeeming these with a new issue of gold bonds, which could be floated at 3.65 per cent interest. The trustees sought to act by virtue of Section 2729 (a) (Rev. Stat. Ohio) which authorized the issue of such bonds for the refunding of the bonded debt to an aggregate amount not exceeding twenty-six millions of dollars. An injunction suit was brought immediately, upon the ground that no authority was given to issue a *gold* bond. The injunction was allowed by the Circuit Court,† which decision was affirmed by a divided Supreme Court—though the grounds of the Supreme Court's decision have as yet not been stated. The Circuit Court proceeded upon the theory that a municipal corporation could exercise such powers only as were expressly granted; provided, however, that every municipal corporation may exercise incidental powers essential to the very life of the corporation; and that as the statute did not expressly authorize the issue of gold bonds, and as the power to issue such a gold bond was not essential to the very life of the corporation, the issue must be enjoined as being *ultra vires*. The court also held that as the bonds were to be paid in dollars, a bond payable in "gold" dollars would exclude payment

*Communication of Max B. May.

†City *ex rel.* vs. Anderson, 10 C. C., 267.

in legal tender currency or silver coin and hence would be a limitation in the word "dollars" as used in the statute and therefore unwarranted. The Sinking Fund trustees will undoubtedly appeal to the Legislature which meets in January next, for express authority to issue a gold bond.

Last winter the Cincinnati Municipal Civil Service Reform Association was reorganized. The Hon. Wm. H. Taft, Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, was elected president. The association gained many new members and will endeavor to procure legislation favorable to civil service reform, similar to that in force at Chicago, New York and Boston. The work of the society is done by the executive board.

The superintendent of the public schools has permitted the opening of one kindergarten class. If the experiment is successful, kindergartens may be made part of the public school system of education.

American Society of Municipal Improvements.

The American Society of Municipal Improvements, which was organized at Buffalo last year, held its second annual convention in Cincinnati, September 11-14. Delegates from all the large municipalities in the country were present. The object of the society is "to disseminate information and experience upon, and to promote the best methods to be employed in the management of municipal departments and in the construction of municipal works."

Any municipality within America is eligible to membership, likewise any engineer, officer or director, who shall have charge or supervision of any public or municipal department and works. The following papers were read:

"Paving Brick," by W. G. Wilkins, City Engineer of Allegheny, Pa.; "Public Water Supplies," by John W. Hill, of Cincinnati; "Street Improvements," by W. B. Holten, of Indianapolis; "The Disposal of Garbage," by Thomas DeVilbins, of Fort Wayne, Ind.; "Street Paving," by Harrison Van Duyne, of Newark, N. J. The most interesting paper was undoubtedly that of Mr. Hill. He insisted upon the fact that if the consumer is to have a safe drinking water, it must come to him in that condition through the public water mains. He likewise attributed the prevalence of typhoid fever in this country to the impure water supply. The death rate from typhoid in 1894, in Cincinnati, was three times that of London, eight times that of Hamburg, ten times that of Vienna, twelve times that of Berlin, and twenty times that of Munich. Mr. Hill said that he had come to the conclusion that by combined sedimen-

tation and multiple-filtration through thick beds of graduated sand, a safe and pure water supply could be obtained.

Mr. G. H. Benzenberg, of Milwaukee, and Mr. D. L. Fulton, of Allegheny, Pa., were chosen president and secretary, respectively, for the ensuing year. Hereafter the society will meet in October, and Chicago was chosen as the next place of meeting. A series of committees are to be appointed each year on the subject of street paving, electric lighting, sewers and sanitation, water works, taxation and assessment, city government and legislation, their duty being to provide for the work to be done in each annual convention in these branches. As this society is composed of those who are engaged in practical administration, much good may be accomplished if the various municipalities act upon the experience of others.

Omaha.*—On September 17, the Supreme Court of Nebraska handed down its decision in the Police Commission case. This decision upholds the constitutionality of the new law passed by the last Legislature changing the constitution of Omaha's Board of Fire and Police Commissioners and sustains the validity of the appointments made under it. The law, to which reference has several times been made, abolishes the old board consisting of the Mayor and four Commissioners appointed by the Governor, and vests the control of the police and fire departments in a new board consisting of three Commissioners, appointed by a State appointing board composed of the Governor, Attorney General, and Commissioner of Public Lands and Buildings. The enactment of the law was a purely political move. In order to deprive the Populist Governor of the patronage of the appointments of two Fire and Police Commissioners, a Republican Legislature, overriding his veto, transferred the appointments to a board in which two Republican State officials form the majority and the Governor a helpless minority.

The contest over the enforcement of this law was sharp and exciting. The members of the old board, who by its provisions were legislated out of office on August 1, contended that the act was unconstitutional and insisted upon continuing in the performance of the duties of their offices until the courts should pass upon their claims. They secured an order, for the city Council to show cause why it should not be enjoined from approving the bonds of the men appointed as their successors, but the majority of the Council defied the order of court and approved the bonds. Next, an injunction was secured to prevent the new appointees from

* Communication of Victor Rosewater, Ph. D.

unlawfully interfering with their work as Police Commissioners. This injunction was after a hearing dissolved although the judge in his opinion affirmed the right of the old board to the peaceable possession of the office until otherwise ordered in a proper judicial proceeding brought to test the title. Finally the case went to the Supreme Court upon a suit in the nature of *quo warranto*. The decision favored the new board, and the old board gracefully retired.

Incidentally the controversy involved a great many minor points of importance. A beginning had been made by the old board at a complete reorganization of the police force by the dismissal of incompetents, agitators and crooks. The first thing the new board did was to reinstate nearly every man removed by its predecessor. The result threatens to bring the police force again prominently into partisan politics and to make it one of the issues in the coming local campaign.

Buffalo.*—An important decision regarding the rights of contractors upon municipal work was rendered by the General Term of the Superior Court of Buffalo during the past summer. The laws of 1870, as amended in 1894, make it a crime for a contractor to employ alien labor in the construction of municipal public works. Under this law an agent of the Barber Asphalt Company was convicted of employing an Italian laborer on a city contract for the paving of a certain avenue. Upon appeal this decision was reversed, holding the statute in question to be unconstitutional and also in violation of the treaty with Italy. The Court says in effect that, while the State may itself contract with an individual upon such terms as it chooses, it cannot dictate the terms of a contract between an individual and one of its municipal corporations "which would be illegal if the contract were made directly with itself."

For some time past negotiations have been pending between the city of Buffalo and the Niagara Falls Electric Power Company. After a number of proposals and counter-proposals, the following provisions have been inserted in the franchise. These have not as yet been definitely accepted by the company. The company must, from time to time, adopt improved methods and appliances, as required by the Board of Public Works, with the approval of city Councils; all wires must be placed underground whenever required by the Board of Public Works; an annual payment of five per cent of the gross receipts is to be made to the City Treasurer, to commence five years after the acceptance of the grant; the franchise is to continue

*Communication of A. C. Richardson.

thirty-six years from the time of its acceptance, but at the end of eighteen years there is to be a readjustment of the percentage paid by the company to the city. The franchise is not transferable or assignable without the consent of the Common Council.

FOREIGN CITIES.

London.—The interest which the London County Council has shown in the condition of the laboring classes ever since its organization in 1889, has again had opportunity to display itself in the new contracts which various tramway companies are about to conclude with the Council. A strong effort is being made to insert provisions both as to the maximum hours of labor and the minimum rate of wages. In order to effect this, the Council is willing to reduce the payments of the companies, and in this way to offset any of the disadvantages which might ensue from a high rental combined with onerous provisions as to the employment of labor. In doing this, London will merely be following in the footsteps of many of the smaller English municipalities, where such clauses have been inserted in contracts with private corporations.

One of the most gigantic municipal schemes with which any modern municipality has as yet had to deal, is the proposition of a new water supply for the metropolitan district of London. The present sources of supply are rapidly becoming inadequate to meet the needs of the enormous population of this district. They will reach their limit with about 300,000,000 gallons per day, whereas the report of the Royal Commission shows that by 1931 a supply of about 415,000,000 gallons per day will be required. For some time past the Engineer of the County Council has been making a careful study of the problem, and in a recent report outlines a scheme to bring the entire supply from Wales by means of two main aqueducts, one to be 150 miles in length, the other 170 miles. The total cost of the new system will be nearly \$200,000,000. According to the evidence of the Royal Commission, as well as the report of Mr. Binnie, the Council will probably be compelled to adopt this system, inasmuch as it will be extremely difficult to obtain a supply of pure water within the immediate vicinity of London. In fact, it seems as if all the larger English cities will ultimately be compelled to derive the greater part of their water supply from the mountainous districts of Wales. The question is becoming further complicated by the fact that the water supply is in the hands of eight private companies, and until their rights have been acquired by the municipality, little if anything

can be done toward the permanent improvement of the water supply. This latter question is at present pending before a committee of the House of Commons.*

A recent report of the London School Board gives some facts as to the remarkable work accomplished by this body. Since its organization in 1871, no less than 397 public schools have been erected and opened, to which, during the present year, nine have been added. As is the case with other departments of the government, attempts have been successfully made to insert in the building contracts for these schools, a clause binding the contractors to pay "the rates of wages mutually agreed upon by the Central Association of Master Builders of London, and the London Building Trade Federation." The School Board has also adopted the union rates for workmen directly employed by it. An important feature of the administration has been the great increase in the number of playgrounds and the opening of these grounds on Saturdays. The board has also been active in the founding of special educational institutions for the blind and the deaf.

*See ANNALS for July, 1895, p. 177.

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

[The editor of this department is glad to receive notes on all topics of interest to sociologists and persons working along sociological lines in the broadest acceptance of the term. It is not the purpose of these columns to define the boundaries of sociology, but rather to group in one place for the convenience of members of the Academy available bits of information on the subject that would otherwise be scattered throughout various departments of the ANNALS. The usefulness of this department will naturally depend largely on the measure of co-operation accorded the editor by other members of the Academy.]

Among those who have already indicated their interest and willingness to contribute are such well-known workers along sociological lines as Professor F. H. Giddings (Columbia College), Professor W. F. Willcox (Cornell University), Dr. John Graham Brooks (Cambridge, Mass.), Dr. E. R. Gould (Chicago University), Mr. John Koren (Boston), Hon. Carroll D. Wright (Washington, D. C.), Professor E. Cheysson (Paris), Mr. Robert D. McGonnigle (Pittsburgh, Pa.), President John H. Pinley (Knox College), Professor D. R. Dewey (Boston), Rev. Dr. L. T. Chamberlain (New York), Dr. Wm. H. Tolman (New York), Dr. D. I. Green (Hartford), Mr. Robert Donald (London), Sig. Giuseppe Flamingo (Rome), Dr. Georg Simmel (Berlin), Miss Emily Green Balch (Jamaica Plains, Mass.), Miss M. E. Richmond (Baltimore, Md.), and others.]

Sociological Theory: Method—It is interesting to note a tendency in German thought respecting the much-vexed problems of social methodology as expressed in a communication from Professor Dr. v. Mayr in his comments on that remarkable book by Otto Ammon, entitled, "*Die Gesellschaftsordnung und ihre natürlichen Grundlagen*,"* which were recently published in the *Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv*. His words seem to indicate that the German scientific world is not altogether satisfied with the biological analogies that sociologists have introduced into the discussion of social phenomena. He says: "When I read the announcement of this book, I expected from the author, who was well known for his able statistical studies, a work dealing with the basis of social organization, as founded on the results of statistics. I could not think that the author would wander in the anti-statistical, but to-day much beloved sociological method of treatment which lives so largely on biological analogies. A cursory view of the book showed that the author had held himself free from the ordinary fanciful pictures (*Phantasiegebilden*) of his sociological colleagues. A more careful reading of the book showed that the fundamental conception of the author rested on the ground of exact observation of social conditions and events, but that the

* "*Entwurf einer Sozial-Anthropologie zum Gebrauch für alle Gebildeten, die sich mit sozialen Fragen befassen*." Pp. 408. Jena: G. Fischer, 1895.

positive material which he had used was partially unreliable, and, to some extent, did not rest on real and original observations. The importance of the book, which is remarkably fresh and logical, lies rather in its suggestiveness than in any solution of the social question of which it treats.

"The theory of the author consists in the application of the law of natural selection to the formation of social conditions." Professor Mayr goes on to speak of the peculiar mixture of optimism and pessimism that one finds in Ammon's conclusions. Ammon is optimistic, to the extent of being severe, for instance, in his treatment of existing inequality in our social organization and in the emphasis which he lays on the different degrees of ability, manifested by different classes of society, as inborn qualities, and again where he accepts the small sum of one hundred marks as the minimum of existence. As to the statistical side of this work, which Professor Mayr is very competent to discuss, he criticises very sharply the use of curves, which he says are "partly fanciful pictures and must in part be designated, when taken singly, as incorrect and, in any event, in no wise representing the general phenomena of society." In the first place Professor Mayr believes that the statistical material on which these curves rest is by far too insufficient a basis for mathematical calculation and is capable of too easy coloring that reflects the position of the author. Then again he objects to the comparisons made between two or more of these curves, which are apt to lead to exaggerated conclusions. Again, to quote Professor Mayr's words, he says: "In general I have received the impression as though Ammon found it necessary to treat statistically that which has not yet been determined, or, indeed, scarcely surmised, as if it was in the realm of indisputable fact. Here I include the explanation which he makes in the remarkable section on the stream of population and the extinction of the higher classes. In particular the assertion that, within two generations, on the average, the vitality of those families in high positions is exhausted. Also in the section on Malthus and over-population is to be found a certain disposition on the part of the author to treat statistically as fact that which cannot yet be determined. On the other side, I will not deny that it is possible for the book to exert a healthy, stimulating, reactionary influence on those specialists who, perhaps, are at times too fearful of results. In this sense Mr. Ammon's book will be useful to the statistician, as it is for the student of social science . . . and in general one gets the impression that the book has led him to the consideration of things to which, perhaps, he would not otherwise have had his attention called."

Medico-Legal Congress of 1895.—The Congress of the Medico-Legal Society, which met in New York City early in September, brought together a number of leading specialists in medical science and those versed in legal knowledge. While it was intended primarily for students of medical jurisprudence, one of the subdivisions of the department of Psychology and Psychological Medicine, was devoted to Sociology and Criminology, and many of the papers were of a character that will prove useful sources of information to all students of social phenomena. Several papers were devoted to the treatment of insanity, touching on its social aspects. Much discussion was given to the treatment of inebriates. "Suicide Considered as a Mental Epidemic," was discussed by Dr. Forbes Winslow, of London. Dr. Havelock Ellis, who is well known for his book on "The Criminal," contributed a paper to the sociological section. Moritz Ellinger discussed the topic, "Sociology and Criminology, Growths of Modern Civilization." "The Legal Aspects of Hypnotism," and "The Legal Status and Evolution of Woman," were topics that gave rise to much discussion.

Information as to the bulletins of the congress and reports of its proceedings can be had from Clark Bell, Esq., Secretary, 57 Broadway, New York City.

Social Settlements.—*Kingsley House, Pittsburgh, Pa.* The Second Annual Report of the Kingsley House Association*, presented on June 19, 1895, has appeared in print, and shows a marked increase in the amount of social work attempted and the enlargement of the scope of its work.

A kitchen garden has been started this year to teach house work by means of miniature house-keeping utensils. The number of clubs is greater, and these, together with the six classes which were carried on and constituted a new feature of this year's work, are encouraging signs of a healthy development, and lead us to expect substantial results from settlement work.

Social Reform in Large Cities.—The reform movement which has made such rapid progress of late in dealing with the problems of municipal administration, is rapidly spreading to some of the larger social problems that exist in all our large cities. These two lines of reform work are necessarily so intimately connected that it was impossible for a "revival" to take place within the one and not to be felt within the other. Perhaps the first visible signs of awakened interest in the social problems in any community are apt to be due to an intensified spirit of civic responsibility. Reform clubs and

* "Second Annual Report of the Kingsley House Association," No. 1707 and 1709 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

other organizations which strive after this end, are multiplying in all our cities both large and small. Their experience, especially when they come in contact with any definite social evil which they attempt to remove, is singularly uniform. Much good, therefore, can be done if those who are engaged in these movements will take the trouble to publish the detailed results of their efforts, and a detailed statement of the methods pursued, for the benefit of others.

The Civic Federation of Chicago is a good illustration of the crystallized form in which an awakened civic life in that city has found expression. Professor A. W. Small has given a good description of its organization in the first number of the *American Journal of Sociology*.^{*} Such pieces of work are of greater practical utility to those engaged in active reform work than a goodly amount of theorizing and general suggestions can possibly be. The results of a similar and more restricted piece of reform work have lately been published by the American Academy of Political and Social Science.[†] Much labor can be saved those who are leading in these reform movements if they are careful to study the experience of others, and they in turn can contribute most largely to further efforts by giving the results of their own experience.

Charities.—The legislation of our various States in behalf of the poor has been so different in character, and in most of them there has been so little attempt to codify these laws, that the public officials themselves are at times embarrassed and at a loss to know the exact legal bearings of the questions that come before them. In Pennsylvania, for example, a few years ago a committee of the Legislature was appointed and authorized to study the poor laws of that State and see if they could possibly be reduced, simplified and placed on some unified basis. This committee found the task so severe a one that they gave up the problem without making public any results of their efforts. It is no wonder, therefore, that the student of pauperism is often bewildered if he approaches this mass of more or less conflicting legislation, and especially if he tries to make any comparison between the practice in different States, or tries to get at anything that might be termed the American Poor Law.

Dr. John Cummings has recently contributed to the publications of the American Economic Association ‡ a study of the poor laws of two

^{*} July, 1895.

[†] "The Story of a Woman's Municipal Campaign." Edited by Mrs. Talcott Williams. Publication No. 150. Price 50 cents.

[‡] "Poor Laws of Massachusetts and New York," with Appendices containing the United States Immigration and Contract Labor Laws, by JOHN CUMMINGS, Ph. D. Vol. X, No. 4, July, 1895. Pp. 135. Price 75 cents.

States. Although these States are geographically very close to each other, their practice in poor law administration has been radically different. He selects, therefore, Massachusetts and New York as types. Their experience, he maintains, has been that of the great majority of States which have followed one or the other of these two in constructing its poor law system, and in the study of the principles on which the legislation of these two States rests we may trace the basis of the American Poor Law and its relation to the English Poor Law, of which it has been an outgrowth. The value of this study is still further enhanced by the fact that there has been much conflict between Massachusetts and New York on fundamental principles, arising from widely different laws of settlement and State responsibility. The outcome of this conflict in the various single cases is instructive as testimony to the relative value of the respective systems.

Conference of Charities and Correction.—The *Charities Review* devoted its June number, which appeared late on this account, to a very full report of the addresses, subjects and discussions in the Charity Organization Section of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, held at New Haven last May. There is probably nothing in these pages that will not appear in the published proceedings of the Conference, but all persons interested in the question of friendly visiting and extending of individual help and advice to the poor, the improvement of their dwellings, the promotion of better sanitary conditions in the poor districts of large cities, etc., will find here, within small space and at the moderate cost of twenty cents, a vast amount of useful information contributed by the leading actual workers in this line of social effort.

Detroit Plan for the Cultivation of Waste Land.—A report from Denver states that the Pingree potato farm plan, tried this year for the first time, has been a success. The plan was not put into execution until a month after the beginning of the season, and yet the results have been so satisfactory to those in charge that it will be carried out on a larger scale and begun in ample time next year. The work in Denver originated with some charitable ladies of the city, assisted by Chairman Wells of the County Commissioners, Mr. S. L. Holzman, and others interested in the problem of caring for the poor and unemployed.

Mr. Wilson made an offer of the use of his land in North Denver. The problem of water for irrigation made the extent of the enterprise necessarily limited at this time, and the land was divided into half-acre tracts and prepared for cultivation. The seed was donated, and about fifty needy persons availed themselves of the chance offered them, and each one set to work to cultivate his or her half

acre. The season is not yet ended, but the results are sufficiently apparent to demonstrate that the plan can be made a success in Denver.

A superintendent was employed in the early part of the work to instruct the gardeners in their work, but after the first few months it went on without further supervision. No records have been kept of the amount of produce raised or the sum realized from what was sold, so that detailed statistics, such as have been obtained elsewhere, are not available for the Denver experience. Mr. Holzman says, however, that "the people have raised a large amount of garden stuff, even though it was put in a month late, including corn, potatoes, cabbage, beets, beans, squash, and other vegetables. They have all had enough to eat, and the most thrifty have sold sufficient to provide them with ready money. Of course, some have been careless, and the results in these cases have not been encouraging; but the majority have done well and show a disposition to make good use of the advantages offered them. Many have stored or will store away a supply for the winter, and just so much of a burden will be lifted from the shoulders of the charity organizations. The results are sufficiently encouraging to justify the pursuance of the plan next year on a larger scale."

Labor Question: *Agricultural Depression in New York State.*—The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, under the skilled leadership of its new secretary, Dr. William H. Tolman, has made a new departure in its publications which will be widely welcomed by all students of social questions. The association has begun the publication of a series of leaflets giving the results of special investigations of pressing social questions which it has made. It is indeed a hopeful sign that an organization of such large dimensions as this one, should conceive of its mission as being somewhat more than the doling out of alms even where individual cases have been investigated, and should be willing to launch forth into the field of intelligent inquiry as to the best methods of preventing pauperism as well as of extending relief that enables the recipients to help themselves.

The first leaflet issued is entitled, "An Inquiry into the Causes of Agricultural Depression in New York State."* This investigation was undertaken on account of the over-crowding of population in New York, and because part of the influx was supposed to be due to unemployment in agricultural districts and the hope that adequate means for the securing of employment to all who applied were

* New York, September, 1895. Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, 105 East Twenty-second Street. Price 5c.

possessed by the charitable agencies of New York. The resolutions adopted by the Board of Managers of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, in April, 1894, stated, that

"WHEREAS, The suffering among the wage-earners of this city during the past winter has been but an accentuated form of a chronic evil resulting from the tendency of population to concentrate in the cities, thereby over-supplying the municipal labor markets, and

"WHEREAS, This serious hindrance to the improvement of the condition of the poor exists contemporaneously with an unsatisfied demand for agricultural help in rural localities, therefore,

"RESOLVED, That the effort of intelligent philanthropy should be early directed toward the relief of the congested condition of the cities, by affording every possible encouragement toward settlement in agricultural communities, and that an extensive inquiry into this subject should be made during the coming summer, and that the association appeal to the Citizens' Relief Committee to appropriate from the fund remaining in their hands a sum not to exceed \$5000, to cover expenses in making such an inquiry."

So much for the scope and purpose of the investigation. The services of Mr. Kjelgarrrd, a Pennsylvania farmer, were secured to carry on a personal investigation throughout the leading farming districts, and Mr. George T. Powell conducted a written investigation with a view to securing information chiefly from farmers, but also from other classes, on the same points that Mr. Kjelgarrrd had been instructed to investigate. The results, as tabulated in this report, are grouped about eight leading questions:

1. How much has farming land depreciated in the various localities in the past twenty-five years, and what is the cause or causes?
2. Is there a tendency among farmers and their families to leave their farms and live in towns and cities? If so, what is the cause?
3. Is there an increase in tenant farming?
4. Are farmers gradually reducing their land indebtedness?
5. What rate of interest do farmers pay on notes and mortgages?
6. How many farmers keep accounts and can show some percentage of profit on a fair valuation of their farms?
7. Are the district schools as well attended as in years past?
8. Are the principles of agriculture taught in any form in any of the schools?

The responses to the first inquiry were very unanimous, being without a single exception in the affirmative, and the average depreciation being fixed at about 50 per cent. Among the causes assigned, 25 per cent of the answers indicated low-priced farm products; 15 per cent, opening of new Western land; 10 per cent, high price of labor; 8 per cent, loss of fertility in the soil; while the balance attributed the cause to the scarcity of good farm laborers, taxation, want of tariff protection, over-production, etc.

As to the tendency to leave the farms, Mr. Powell reports that 75 per cent of the replies received by him are in the affirmative. Mr. Kjelgarrrd maintains that 30 per cent of the farmers are anxious to go to the large cities, adding that 86 per cent of their children cannot be induced to follow an agricultural life. The causes assigned to this are: unprofitable farming; greater school advantages; difficulty in obtaining good help (30 per cent of the replies assigned these causes, about 10 per cent to each). Higher wages in the cities and easier living in towns, are also enumerated as causes in 10 per cent of the replies. Very marked discontent with rural life is manifested in many districts.

Replies to the third point of investigation indicated that tenant farming is on the increase, and is apparently spreading rapidly. Mr. Powell reports that 70 per cent of the farmers are not reducing their land indebtedness, and that only 20 per cent are doing so; while Mr. Kjelgarrrd reports that only 14 per cent are making a profit. It seems further that the farmers are not paying more than 6 per cent interest for their borrowed money. Fifty-six per cent of the replies also indicate that the schools are not so well attended as in other years.

Mr. Powell, on the basis of his report, makes many valuable suggestions looking toward an improvement of agricultural conditions; among them, the encouragement of forestry, better cultivation of fewer acres, improvement of country home life, extension of farmers' clubs, increase in number of high schools, etc.

In closing the report, the special committee which had it in charge, recommended to the association to call a conference at an early date for the purpose of laying before the charitable organizations of New York City the resolutions as presented in the report to the intent that some concerted measures may be taken through the State Department of Agriculture, or by additional legislation, to re-awaken an interest in the farming industry and turn the movement of population from the cities to the agricultural districts.

Labor Bulletin of the United States Department of Labor.—The Department of Labor at Washington is about to issue a bulletin which will give regular and systematic information respecting labor interests and the particular work of the department from time to time. Those who are familiar with the *Labor Gazette*, published by the labor department of the English Board of Trade, and *Le Bulletin de l'Office du Travail*, published in Paris, will realize how useful such an organ may be in helping students of the labor question to keep in touch with the latest developments. Advices from Washington state that the new bulletin will probably appear the latter part of

this month. It can be obtained through the regular channels for the publications of the department.

Employment of Women and Girls.—The past five years have certainly constituted a period of industrial depression in England as well as in the United States. This fact affords a good opportunity for the study of occupations, and of the normal relations of men and women to the various industries in times when the demand for labor is not artificially stimulated. In England there is a census return of occupations, published every ten years, the last report being for 1891. The Labor Department of the Board of Trade made a statistical study of the employment of married women in 1894, and an industrial inquiry made by the Board of Trade in 1886 into the conditions in the cotton, woolen and worsted industries, furnishes additional material for the very interesting study which Miss Collet has made of the "Statistics on Employment of Women and Girls." *

Some of the results of this inquiry are extremely interesting, and the form in which the figures are given indicates a careful use of statistics. Comparing the year 1891 with 1881, we notice that in 1891 out of 18 occupations, each employing over 1 per cent of the women and girls classified as "occupied," in 1881 or 1891, the employment of women and girls increased in proportion to the population, indicating that in 1891, 812 in every 10,000 women and girls above ten years of age were employed, or 90 more than in 1881. In the other 9 occupations, each employing over 1 per cent of the "occupied" women and girls, 1963 in every 10,000, or 126 less than in 1881, were employed. The remaining occupations, in each of which less than 1 per cent of the occupied women and girls were employed, show 667 in every 10,000, or 73 more than in 1881. The occupations which indicate an increase in the employment of women and girls are: tailoring, millinery and dressmaking, shoemaking, hotel service, lodging and boarding house keeping, sick nursing, drapery, shop assistants, teaching, and the group of occupations described as "grocer: tea, coffee, chocolate making, dealer."

The statistics of employment of married women are the most complete embodied in the report; they indicate a rather large percentage of this class in employment. Thus, for England and Wales, in over 1000 women between 35 and 45 years of age, 86 were classified as both "occupied" and "married," or "widowed," and in London there were 121, while for Central London the number was 240.

An attempt was made in the report to discover whether there was

* Report by Miss Collet on "Statistics on Employment of Women and Girls." Pp. 152. Price 8d. London: Labor Department, English Board of Trade, 1894.

any indication of a relation between the rates of wages and the employment of married women in the districts under consideration. The cotton trade, covering perhaps the largest area, including a number of large towns for which the census statistics were available, disclosed several coincidences between the different sets of facts. For instance, the large urban districts, like Wigan, Manchester and Salford, where the greatest proportion of cotton operatives were women and girls, are not the districts where the greatest proportion of women and girls were cotton operatives.

The large urban districts where the greatest proportion of women and girls were cotton operatives, are those where the proportion of men and boys who were cotton operatives was the highest. From other similarly observed coincidences, it is inferred in the report that the high percentage of women and girls in the mills, who were shown to be married or widowed, in 1894, in Burnley, Blackburn and Preston, where the percentage of female operatives was the highest, has been due, first, to the higher wages obtainable by women and girls in this part of the cotton district, and second, to the lower wages earned by men in this part of the cotton district, both circumstances rendering women reluctant to give up work after marriage.

Gain Sharing and Bonus on Production.—Another report of the Labor Department of the English Board of Trade, which was issued in July, 1895,* deals with the results of a disposition of profits in industrial life, or, perhaps, we might better say, with systems of remuneration of labor, which are often confounded with profit sharing and are usually discussed under this head, but are really not profit sharing at all, since the amount of the distribution is not directly proportionate to the profits of the concern, nor do the individuals concerned share in the losses.

Six schemes, which differ widely in their details, are discussed at considerable length in this report, and they may be taken to embody the leading features of this type of industrial method. One describes the Yale & Towne gain-sharing system, which was introduced in 1887 into the works of the Yale & Towne Manufacturing Company, at Stamford, Conn., and has already been described by Mr. Henry R. Towne, the president of the company, in a paper read by him before The American Society of Mechanical Engineers. This paper is reprinted together with a letter from Mr. Towne, bringing the results down to date. The second scheme discussed is

* Report on "Gain Sharing and Certain Other Systems of Bonus on Production," prepared by Mr. D. F. Schloss. Pp. 132. Price, 6½d. London: Labor Department, Board of Trade, 1895.

that in force in a Canadian factory, known as the "Halsey's Premium Plan." It has likewise been described in a paper read before the American Society of Mechanical Engineers by Mr. F. A. Halsey, manager of the Canadian branch of the Rand Drill Company. The remaining examples are taken from English workshops, and the descriptions given are based on facts obtained from the firms in question, partly by correspondence, and partly through visits of agents of the Labor Department.

Some of the conclusions arrived at in regard to the practical application of the plan of premium payment indicate that it has not been free from difficulties and has not always accomplished the result most desired. Mr. Schloss indicates that one of the greatest difficulties is to fix to the satisfaction of both the employer and employed, the standard costs upon which the calculation of the bonus is based. The matter of time or period at which bonus is paid, is also an important consideration. Experience has shown that the smaller the interval allowed to elapse between the completion and approval of the work, and the receipt of the premium to which the workman may be entitled, the more likely is the reward to stimulate his exertions. The system does not do away with the need for careful supervision of the work, as there is a temptation on the part of the workmen sometimes to work quickly and sacrifice quality in order to earn a high bonus.

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[NOTE: Space will not permit the insertion of titles of all articles in the leading English and American Monthlies, Quarterlies and Reviews; a very comprehensive index to that literature is to be found in the current numbers of the *Review of Reviews*. Occasionally articles in the more strictly scientific and therefore less widely known English periodicals will be mentioned. In references to English Government publications, the numbers in brackets, *e. g.* [7680], indicate the "order" number which may be used in ordering them from Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, the official publishers, or from P. S. King & Son, London.]

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INDEX OF NAMES.

ABBREVIATIONS.—In the Index the following abbreviations have been used : *ppp.*, principal paper by the person named ; *com.*, briefer communication, by the person named ; *b.*, review of book of which the person named is the author ; *p. n.*, personal note on the person named ; *r.*, review by the person named ; *trans.*, translation by the person named ; *mis.*, miscellany by the person named.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Abbott, W. C., 303 | Barr, S. R., 438, 461 |
| Acland, A. H. Dyke, 140 | Bastable, C. F., 523 <i>b.</i> |
| Acworth, W. M., 286, 287 | Bateman, 534 |
| Adams, C. F., 539 et seq. | Bates, F. G., 303 |
| Adams, Geo. B., 528 | Bates, Nellie P., 304 |
| Adams, Henry, 528 | Batt, Wm. J., 545 |
| Adams, H. C., 499, 548 et seq. | Bayles, Geo. J., 301 |
| Adams, John Quincy, 112, 113 | Baxter, Sylvester, 173, 336 |
| Adams, John Quincy, 316-17 <i>r.</i> | Beadsley, Chas., Jr., 358 |
| Addams, Jane, 185, 328, 545 | Beauchamp, J. A., 304 |
| Adler, F., 550 | Bebel, A., 195, 359 |
| Albert, J. H., 328, 545 | Beckett, 540 |
| Alexander VI., 300 | Beerstecher, C. J., 471 et seq. |
| Allen, R. S., 545 | Bell, Clark, 564 |
| Almy, F., 193 | Bellet, D., 196 |
| Alvisi, 252 | Bellom, 357 |
| Ammon, O., 357, 562 et seq. | Bentley, A. F., 301 |
| Anderson, Geo. H., 543 | Benzenberg, G. H., 558 |
| Anderson, J. A., 425, 430, et seq., 458 | Berchetold, Jos., 304 |
| Anderson, Jos., 533 | Bernheimer, L. G., 140-42 <i>r.</i> |
| Andrews, C. M., 218, 306-8 <i>r.</i> | Bernis, 357 |
| Andrews, E. B., 155 <i>b.</i> | Berry, Jos., 194 |
| Andros, E., 601 | Berry, J. M., 540 |
| Appel, J. S., 545 | Bertillon, 545 |
| Argyriadès, P., 195 | Biddle, W. H., 402 |
| Aristotle, 549 | Bignou, 150 |
| Arnold, A., 488 <i>b.</i> | Billings, J. S., 535 |
| Arneth, 150 | Binnie, 560 |
| Arnold, 205 | Bird, A. A., 549 |
| Arnold, Arthur, 338 | Birkinbine, J., 342 |
| Arnold, B. W., Jr., 304 | Bismarck, 487, 490, 509 |
| Ashley, W. J., 160, 188 | Black, 513 |
| Atchison, Rena M., 320 <i>b.</i> | Blackley, 352 |
| Atkinson, Edw., 531 | Blackstone, 319 |
| Atwater, W. O., 530 | Blaisdell, G. W., 541 et seq. |
| Auhuth, P., 359 | Blanc, L., 149 |
| Aulard, 150 | Blanc, P., 360 |
| Avery, Elizabeth H., 483, 533 | Blandin, E. J., 167 |
| | Blanqui, 33 |
| Babeau, 149 | Blatchford, R., 196 |
| Badeau, Abbe, 510 | Blondell, G., 574 |
| Baer, J. W., 167 | Blow, G. P., 541 et seq. |
| Bailhache, J., 358 | Bluntschli, 486 |
| Bakounine, M., 359 | Bodio, L., 534 |
| Balbo, Cesare, 230 | Böhmert, V., 310, 486 |
| Baldwin, J. F., 303 | Bonaparte, C. J., 116 |
| Ball, M. V., 188 | Boncompagni, 247 |
| Ball, S., 196 | Bonghi, R., 238 |
| Ballagh, J. C., 301 | Bonnard, A., 195 |
| Bancroft, Geo., 118, 299 | Booth, Chas., 351 et seq., 491 <i>b.</i> |
| Bardwell, E. O., 359 | Borgeaud, Chas., 3, 5, 15, 162 <i>b.</i> , 190, 306 <i>b.</i> |
| Barnard, W. T., 429, 430 | Borghetti, 239, 240 |
| Barnes, Chas. R., 531 | Borkowsky, 535 |
| Barnes, Mary S., 128-31 <i>com.</i> | v. Bortekewitsch, L., 305 <i>p. n.</i> |
| Barnett, Henrietta, 155 <i>b.</i> | Bosanquet, B., 257, 493 <i>b.</i> |
| Barnett, Samuel, 155 <i>b.</i> | Bossuet, 151 |

INDEX OF NAMES.

Bosworth, E. I., 185
 Boulanger, Gen'l., 23, 49
 Bourgoing, 150
 Bourne, E. G., 299 p. n.
 Boutmy, E., 4, 14, 377
 Bowley, A. L., 286, 574
 Boyd, Carl E., 303
 Brabrook, E. W., 573
 Brace, Chas. L., 132, et seq.
 Brace, Emma, 132 b.
 Bradford, G., 77
 Bradshaw, 545
 Bramhall, Edith, 303
 Brand, Jas., 185
 Brannan, J. W., 532 et seq.
 Brassey, Lord, 351
 Breckenridge, R. M., 301
 Brentano, L., 164, 326, 527
 de Breux, Felix, 53, 60
 Brewer, W. H., 530
 Briggs, Dr., 529
 Brinkerhoff, R., 328, 545
 Brinley, C. A., 186
 Brinton, D. G., 328, 530
 Brockway, Z. R., 546
 Broglio, 247
 Brooks, J. G., 189, 191, 533
 Brough, Wm., 523 b.
 Brown, 107, 111
 Brown, Richard, 215
 Browne, R., 306 et seq.
 Bryce, Jas., 4, 391, 490
 Buccleugh, Duke of, 511
 Buckle, T., 316
 Buckley, E. R., 397-411 *pap.*
 Bücher, 164
 Bulkley, L. D., 532
 Bullock, C. J., 291 p. n., 302
 Bullova, F. E. M., 301
 Burgess, J. W., 38, 55, 64, 71, 157
 Burke, A. H., 543
 Burke, Edmund, 499
 Burkley, C., 538
 Burnham, Geo., 166
 Bushnell, 132
 Butler, John W., 166
 de Buyoe, 347

Cahoon, H. H., 193
 Cain, J. H., 538
 Calkins, R., 196
 Calvin, John, 307
 Cambreling, 112
 Campbell, Arthur, 506
 Canfield, T. H., 542 et seq.
 Cannan, Edw., 287, 351
 Carlier, Jules, 538
 Carlisle, John G., 115, 116
 Carlyle, Thos., 313
 Carlton, 550
 Carlton, Sophie E., 538
 Carnot, Sadi, 56
 Carpenter, G. J., 472, 474
 Carr, A. B., 136 b.
 Carroll, Edw., Jr., 523 b.
 Carroll, Geo. F., 538
 Carter, Jas. C., 167, 277
 Carter, John W., 532
 Cartwright, 307
 Carver, Thos. N., 79-99 *pap.*
 Cary, Edw., 308 b.
 Castlot, 193

Cataldi, 248
 Catherine II., 149
 Cavour, 230
 Cessaresco, Evelyn M., 156 b.
 Chadley-Bert, J., 357
 Chamberlain, 351 et seq.
 Chamberlain, L. T., 183
 Chambord, 61
 Chance, W., 350, 359
 Chandler, J. A. C., 304
 Channing, Edw., 524 b.
 Chapin, R. C., 313-16 r.
 Charlemagne, 319, 325
 Charles Albert, 230, 234, 240, 253
 Charles I., 210
 Charles the Bald, 318
 Cheesman, T. N., 532
 Cheyney, Edw. P., 137-40 r, 162 b.
 Cheysson, E., 195, 534
 Chiaves, 238
 Cicero, 319
 de Cilleuls, A., 575
 Claes, H., 540
 Clark, 476
 Clark, C. P. C., 167
 Clark, E. E., 457
 Clark, J. B., 185, 191, 201, 549
 Clarke, T. C., 541
 Claus, L., 194
 Clay, A. G., 186
 Clemenceau, 33
 Cleveland, Grover, 296
 Clive, Lord, 497
 Closson, C. C., 478 p. n., 573
 Cobb, Howell, 397
 Coffin, 216
 Coleridge, S. T., 515
 Colburn, R. T., 531
 Collett, Miss, 359, 570
 Collingwood, F., 179
 Coman, K., 298
 Commons, J. R., 354, 395, 481 p. n., 587
 et seq.
 Condorcet, 497, 507 et seq.
 Cone, Jos. H., 470 et seq.
 Conmee, Jas., 543
 Conrad J., 163
 Conway, Moneure D., 495 b.
 Cook, H. H., 303
 Cooley, Chas. H., 134 b., 293 p. n.
 Cooley, L. E., 542 et seq.
 Cooley, Stoughton, 537 et seq.
 Cooley, T. M., 294
 Cope, Edw. D., 531
 Cope, Wm. T., 403
 Copernicus, 143
 Coray, Geo. Q., 298 p. n.
 Corthell, E. L., 531
 de Coulanges, Fustel, 208, 319
 Courtney, L., 537 et seq.
 Cowles, 166
 Cowles, J. L., 531
 Craig, E. B., 401
 Craig, O. J., 295 p. n.
 Craigie, 535
 Crandall, Regina K., 303
 Cridge, A., 540
 de Crillon, Edw., 528
 Crispi, 231 et seq.
 Crocker, A. L., 540 et seq.
 Crooker, J. H., 328, 546
 Crowninshield, 118

ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY.

- Crupenski, 534 et seq.
 Cummings, Edw., 358
 Cummings, John, 301, 565, 572
 Cunningham, Wm., 286, 326 *b*.
 Curie, T., 538
 Currier, C. F. A., 1 et seq., 20, 43, 48
 Curtis, G. W., 308 et seq.
 Cushing, H. A., 479 p. n.

 Daniels, W. M., 280-81 com., 296 p. n.
 Danton, 147, 497
 Dareste, 68
 Darwin, C., 359
 Davies, H. L., 194
 Davis, 105, 107
 Davis, W. S., 303
 Dawson, Wm. H., 136-37 r, 145-46 r.
 Dealey, J. Q., 290 p. n., 301
 Deane, Silas, 497
 Degiorgi, 230
 Delaire, A., 575
 Delano, E., 186
 Deming, C., 341
 Demosthenes, 319
 Dendy, Miss H., 494
 Denis, 535
 Deploige, 52
 Depretis, 252
 Desplaces, Henry, 38, 49
 De Vilbins, Thos., 557
 Devine, Edw. T., 188, 548
 Dewey, Davis R., 190 et seq.
 Dewson, F. A., 195
 Dexter, S., 533
 Dicey, E. M., 4, 6
 Dickinson, Don M., 543
 Dinwiddie, R., 514
 Disraeli, 61, 64
 Dixon, F. H., 302
 Dobbell, R. R., 540 et seq.
 Donald, R., 339
 D'Ondes-Eggio, 231, 247
 Douglas, H. F., 193
 Drage, G., 573
 Drake, Francis, 322
 Drake, M. M., 543
 Drane, W. H., 304
 Draper, L. C., 504
 Dreher, J. D., 532
 Droz, Numa, 370
 Dryden, John W., 545
 DuBois, W. E. B., 301
 DuBuy, Jean, 539
 Ducroca, 2
 Dühring, E., 484
 Dulles, Julia M. P., 186
 Dunham, J. S., 543
 Dupont de Nemours, 510
 Dutton, C. N., 541 et seq.
 Dwight, W. E., 302
 Dyer, H., 193

 Eardley, E. 194
 Eastman, Mary J., 531
 Eckels, James N., 328
 Eckhart, B. A., 543
 Edgecombe, R. P., 547
 Edward I., 151
 Edward III., 320
 Elizabeth, 322
 Ellinger, M., 564
 Elliott 118 et seq.
 Elliott, Geo. F., 167
 Ellis, Havelock, 564
 Ellsworth, E., 106 et seq., 111
 Elster, 164, 282
 Ely, R. T., 136, 183, 354, 397
 Engel, 535
 Engel, E., 575
 Engels, F., 483 p. n.
 Erasmus, 300
 Erman, 326
 Estes, Chas. S., 301
 Eugene, Prince, 228
 Eulenberg, F., 575

 Falkner, R. P., 516-18 r., 534-37 *mis*, 549.
 Faraday, M., 515
 Farquhar, H., 530
 Federspiel, M. A., 301
 Fels, S. S., 188
 Felton, Katherine C., 303
 Ferguson, H., 500 *b*, 532
 Fernow, B. E., 327, 530
 Ferri, E., 359
 Fërtig, Jas. W., 303
 Feuerbach, L., 484
 Field, C. W., 321
 Field, H. M., 321 *b*.
 Field, S. J., 274
 Firth, C. H., 306
 Fisher, Irving, 300 p. n.
 Fisher, Jas., 541 et seq.
 Fliske, John, 502
 Flack, A. C., 303
 Flammernont, J., 274
 Flinders, 326
 Flower, F. A., 540 et seq.
 Folks, H., 533
 Fonda, A. F., 142 *b*.
 Fontaine, A., 357
 Foote, W. W., 472 et seq.
 Forney, M. M., 329, 537 et seq.
 Forrest, J. D., 303
 Fortier, Alcée, 321 *b*.
 Foulke, Wm. D., 329, 537 et seq.
 de Foville, 535
 Fowle, T. W., 547
 Fowler, W. Warde, 317 *b*.
 Fox, Mary S., 186
 Foxwell, H. S., 287
 Francis, Chas., 541
 Francis II., 162
 Francis, Trench, 126
 Franklin, B., 124 et seq., 302, 508, 510
 Fraser, J. A. Jr., 522 *b*.
 Frederick the Great, 149, 416, 487
 Freeman, E. A., 201, 205, 207, 208, 364
 Frey, A., 374
 Friedenwald, H., 514-15 r.
 Froude, J. A., 300, 322 *b*.
 Fry, Col., 514
 Frye, A. E., 323 *b*.
 Fuller, M. W., 274 et seq.
 Fulton, D. L., 558

 Gallatin, A., 113
 Gambetta, 22, 41, 44, 65
 Gardiner, 525
 Gardoqui, 504 et seq.
 Garrison, Wm. L., 539
 Garvin, L. F. C., 538
 Gates, Wm. E., 527 et seq.
 Gayarre, 507

INDEX OF NAMES.

- Gazel, E., 356
 Geering, 537
 George, H., 194
 Gfeller, J., 538
 Gibbins, H. D., 154 *b.*
 Gibbon, 313, 324
 Gibber, P., 194
 Giddings, F. H., 182, 343
 Gide, C., 280
 Giffen, 143, 155
 Gilbert, Levi, 185
 Gilman, D. C., 309 *b.*
 Gilman, N. P., 293, *p. n.*, 348
 Gilmore, 506
 Giolitti, G., 236
 Gist, 515
 von Gizycki, Geo., 357
 von Gizycki, L., 357
 Gladden, Washington, 167, 185
 Gladstone, Wm. E., 388
 Glover, Ethel A., 303
 von Gneist, R., 485 *p. n.*
 Göhre, Paul, 135 *b.*
 Gompers, S., 185
 Gonnor, E. C. K., 153 *b.*
 Goodpasture, A. V., 524 *b.*
 Goodrich, C. F., 532
 Gordon, 118
 Gordy, W. F., 323 *b.*
 Goshen, 350
 Gould, E. R. L., 549
 Gournay, 508 et seq.
 Gove, Wm. H., 547 et seq.
 Graffigny, Mme., 508
 Graham, Mary, 302
 de la Grasserie, R., 356
 Graves, Edw. O., 167
 de Greef, G., 357
 Green, D. I., 309-12 *r.*, 491-93 *r.*
 Green, J. R., 138, 316
 Green, Mrs. J. R., 137 *b.*
 Green, Mary L., 303.
 Greenwood, 346
 Gregorovius, F., 324 *b.*
 Gresham, Thos., 280
 Griffiths, Major, 360
 Grossi, V., 194
 Gruner, 534
 Guizot, 6, 313
 Guyot, Yves, 358, 359, 537

 Hadley, A. T., 191, 549
 Häusser, 150
 Haile, W. H., 530
 Hale, Edw. E., 549
 Hale, H. S., 403
 Hale, Wm. B., 549
 Hale, Wm. H., 530
 Hallam, A., 319
 Halsey, F. A., 572
 Hamilton, A., 300
 Hamilton, Annie, 324 *b.*
 Hamilton, J. H., 304
 Hammond, Wm. A., 549
 Hampke, C., 358
 Hancock, W. S., 304
 Hansbrough, H. C., 541
 Harding, S. B., 100-16 *pap.*, 480 *p. n.*
 Hardy, Sarah M., 298 *p. n.*
 Hare, 118
 Hare, Thos., 160
 Harley, L. R., 302

 Harper, E. J., 287
 Harrison, F., 312 *b.*
 Hart, A. B., 500 *b.*, 528, 548
 Hart, H. H., 184
 Hartman, C. H., 532
 Hartwell, F. M., 167
 Harvey, W. H., 518 *b.*
 Haskins, C. H., 317-19 *r.*
 Hastings, D. H., 331
 Haupt, L. M., 541 et seq.
 Haurion, 3
 Hawkins, John, 322
 Hay, H. C., 194
 Haynes, Geo. H., 132-34 *r.*, 254-67 *pap.*,
 812-13 *r.*, 515-16 *r.*
 Haynes, John, 301
 Hayt, C. D., 545
 Hazen, Chas. D., 162, 193
 Hearn, 206
 Hearne, F., 543
 Hébert, 147
 Helm, E. M., 303
 Hendren, S. R., 301
 de Henley, Walter, 299
 Henry I., 320
 Henry VIII., 326, 516
 Henry, Prince, 300
 Hering, Rudolph, 179
 Herman, 147
 Herodotos, 130, 131
 Herriott, F. I., 308-9 *r.*, 495-500 *r.*
 Herron, Geo. D., 193
 Herschel, 320
 van den Heuvel, J., 52, 193
 Hewins, W. A. S., 194, 286, 287, 288-89
com., 485 *p. n.*
 Hickok, Chas. T., 302
 Hickox, Geo. H., 545
 Higgins, A., 533
 Higginson, T. W., 524 *b.*
 Higley, B. O., 295 *p. n.*
 Hill, Mrs. B., 306 *b.*
 Hill, John W., 557
 Hilprecht, H., 326
 Hobson, John A., 194, 547, 573
 Hodges, Geo., 183
 Hodgkin, 325
 Hoffman, Frank S., 156 *b.*
 Hoffman, W., 447
 Holbrook, Z. S., 185, 194
 Holcomb, Gov., 176
 Hole, Jas., 157 *b.*
 Holland, H. S., 354
 Holland, R. A., 183
 Hollander, J. H., 158 *b.*, 291 *p. n.*
 Hollerith, A., 536
 Holmes, Geo. K., 574
 Holt, H., 194
 Holten, W. B., 557
 Holtzendorff, 486
 Holzman, S. L., 566 et seq.
 Homer, 129, 131
 Honorius, 325
 Hotchkiss, S. M., 533
 Horr, R. G., 519, 533
 Houfe, C. A., 325 *b.*
 Howe, Jas. L., 530
 Howland, O. A., 540 et seq.
 Hoxie, R. F., 303
 Hrotswitha, 300
 Hume, D., 508, 512
 Humphreys, W. P., 472 et seq.

ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY.

- Hunt, R. D., 295 p. n., 302
 Hunt, Rebecca P., 186
 Huntington, Bishop, 183
 Hurd, L. R., 541
 Hutcheson, 512
 Hutton, 513
- v. Inama-Sternegg, K. T., 535 et seq.
 Ingham, S. D., 109, 110
 Ireland, John, 542
 Ising, B., 575
 Izoulet, J., 536
- Jacobsen, 280
 Jackson, A., 103, 524
 James, E. J., 283-88 com., 488-91 r., 548
 James I., 210
 James, J. A., 500-2 r.
 Jameson, J. F., 528
 Jaurès, J., 195, 196
 Jay, R., 357
 Jenks, J. W., 328, 381-96 pap., 533, 538 et seq.
 Jennings, Wm., 543
 Jeroloman, 171
 Johannsen, A., 378
 John, 516
 Johnson, E. R., 134-36 r., 153-55 r., 424-68 pap., 541 et seq.
 Johnson, J. F., 142-45 r., 518-22 r.
 Johnson, Samuel, 118
 Johnson, T. L., 539
 Johnson, T. T., 541 et seq.
 Johnston, 218, 502
 Johnston, Alex., 296
 Jones, Benj., 140 b.
 Jones, Edw. D., 302, 328, 482 p. n.
 Jones, Harriet W., 186
 Joseph II., 149, 517
 Judson, H. P., 528
 Juglar, 535
 Julin, 537
- Kant, 146
 Kaouine, M., 359
 Keefer, T. C., 542 et seq.
 Kelly, Edmond, 502 b., 540
 Kennedy, E. W., 304
 Kennedy, Wm., 167
 Kerr, Clara H., 301
 Kiaer, 535
 Kidd, B., 193
 King, 550
 Kingsbury, F. J., 328, 531 et seq.
 Kinley, D., 397, 405
 Kirkbride, F. B., 186
 Kjelgaard, 568 et seq.
 Klatsky, K., 359
 Kleczniak, 534
 Kline, J. H., 186
 Klopp, W., 356
 Knapp, 164
 Knapp, J. M., 358
 Knox, Frances A., 303
 Körösi, 535
 Kulemann, 282
- Laird, W. H., 194
 Lallemant, Léon, 185
 Lambertson, Wm. A., 549
 Lampertico, 252
 Lamprecht, K., 313 b.
- Landesberger, J. G., 483 p. n.
 Lanza, 232, 234, 238
 Lapeyre, P., 357
 La Rue, H. M., 475 et seq.
 Latané, John H., 302
 Latimer, Mary E. W., 525 b.
 Laudenbach, v. Fechenbach, 358
 Laughlin, J. L., 280, 519, 520 b.
 de Laveleye, E., 22, 52, 55, 74
 Lavissee, E., 158 b.
 Lazenby, W. R., 530 et seq.
 Lea, Henry C., 528
 Lebon, Andre, 7, 9
 Lee, F. W., 188
 Lee, Jos., 533
 Lefebvre, 6, 7, 12, 39, 150
 Legrain, 352
 Leo XIII., 58, 66, 189, 358
 Leroy-Beaulieu, 378
 Leser, M. E., 326 b.
 Le Seure, W. D., 193
 Levasseur, 159, 535
 Leverson, M. R., 538
 Levy, R. G., 359
 Lexis, 534
 Libby, O. G., 302
 Lieber, 227
 Liesse, A., 357
 v. Lilienfeld, P., 357
 Lincoln, A., 549
 Lincoln, C. H., 117-24 com.
 Lindenthal, G., 543
 Lindsay, S. M., 188, 493-95 r., 502-4 r.
 Liverpool, Lord, 143
 Loch, C. S., 311, 349, 351, 359, 494
 Locke, 117, 143, 145
 Loeb, L., 294 p. n.
 Logan, W. S., 532
 Lombroso, C., 357
 Long, C. L., 530
 Loomis, F. M., 167
 Lord, Eleanor L., 303
 Louis VI., 301, 480
 Louis XVI., 149, 497, 510
 Lowe, 388
 Lowell, A. Lawrence, 36, 550
 Lowell, Francis C., 100
 Lowell, Jas. Russell, 278
 Lowndes, 143
 Lowrie, Sarah D., 186
 Lowrie, Walter, 186
 Lubbock, John, 377, 538
 Lueder, 152
 Luther, Martin, 315 et seq.
 Lyde, L. W., 155 b.
- Mace, W. H., 319-20 r.
 Macfarlane, C. W., 124-28 com.
 Mackinder, H. J., 286, 287
 Mackintosh, Mary, 575
 MacLeod, H. D., 142 b., 280 et seq., 521
 MacNeil, 550
 Macpherson, Wm. C., 316 b.
 Magnan, 352
 Mahielon, 537
 Maine, Henry, 258, 268
 Mallory, 103, 105
 Mallock, W. H., 195
 Malon, B., 356
 Malques, G., 485
 Maltbie, M. R., 303
 Malthus, T. R., 527

INDEX OF NAMES.

- Manning, D., 115
 March-Phillips, Evelyn, 194
 Maria Theresa, 416, 517
 Marie Antoinette, 509
 Marquardsen, 7
 Marriott, J. A. R., 547
 Marshall, John, 118, 119
 Martel, Chas., 318
 Marx, Karl, 359, 483 et seq.
 Maspero, G., 326
 Mavor, Jas., 574
 May, Max B., 556
 Mayo-Smith, R., 575
 v. Mayr, Geo., 487 p. n., 534, 562 et seq.
 McCallum, Mrs., 494
 McCaskey, Harriet L., 303
 McCaslin, C. H., 302
 McClaughy, R. W., 645
 McClure, A. K., 549
 McCulloch, 119
 McCunn, 388.
 McDonald, J. R., 402
 McDougal, A., 543
 McDuffie, John, 302
 McGee, J. A., 302
 McGuire, 550
 McIntire, A. W., 545
 McKisson, R. E., 542
 McLane, L., 104, 112, 113
 McLean, S. J., 303
 McMaster, J. B., 528
 McMurray, T. A., 545
 McNeil, Geo. E., 183
 McQuirk, A. P., 542 et seq.
 McVey, F. R., 303
 McVickar, Wm. N., 188
 Mendenhall, T. C., 531
 Menger, K., 528
 Mercer, Geo. G., 188
 Mètreau, Abbe, 575
 Meyer, B. H., 304
 v. Miaskowski, 163
 Mill, H. R., 154 b.
 Mill, John Stuart, 95, 372, 499
 Miller, F. H., 304
 Milles, Thos., 485
 Milligan, John L., 533
 Milliet, 536
 Milliken, I. T., 167, 555
 Milman, 324
 Milton, John, 515
 Minghetti, 233
 Miot de Melito, 161, 162
 Mirabeau, 147
 Misselden, Edw., 485
 Moffett, L. E., 159 b., 469-77 com.
 Monroe, Jas., 497
 Monroe, Paul, 303
 Montesquieu, 361
 Moore, H. L., 303
 Moran, T. F., 193, 297 p. n., 302
 Moreau, Felix, 49
 Morellet, 508 et seq.
 Morelli, Salvatore, 222
 Morey, Wm. C., 197-226 pap.
 Morgan, Lewis H., 484
 Morgan, Thos. J., 185
 Morisseaux, C., 574
 Morely, E. W., 530
 Morley, John, 507
 Moron, 534 et seq.
 Mortimer-Ternaux, 148, 150
 Moseley, J. R., 303
 Motoda, Jos. S., 302
 Moxham, A. J., 540 et seq.
 Mucke, J. R., 357
 Mühlbrecht, O., 525 b.
 Münsterberg, E., 359
 Muhleman, M. L., 160 b.
 Mun, Thos., 160 b.
 Munro, D. C., 162 b.
 Munro, J. E. C., 287
 Munro, Thos., 542
 Murray, Grace P., 532
 Napoleon, 149, 161, 162, 487
 Naumann, 282
 Naville, E., 371, 538
 Neale, Edw. V., 485
 Nelson, N. O., 185
 Neumann, 164
 Newmarch, Wm., 485
 Neymarch, 536
 Nichols, W. L., 188
 Nicholson, J. S., 196
 Nickelson, W., 303
 Nitti, F. S., 575
 North, T. M., 533
 Norton, 166
 Nossig, A., 572
 Novicow, S., 357
 Noyes, E. S., 303
 Oastler, R., 485
 O'Brien, E. C., 543
 Ochs, Geo. W., 167
 Olanesco, 535
 Oldenburg, K., 164, 282, 357
 Oldham, Jas. R., 541 et seq.
 Oman, Chas., 317 b.
 O'Neill, W. L., 531
 Oresme, 143
 Orton, J. F., 481 p. n.
 Outerbridge, A. E., Jr., 574
 Owen, R., 141
 Paine, Thos., 495 et seq.
 Palen, 403
 Palfrey, 213
 Palma, 4
 Parr, Wm., 485
 Parsons, F., 179
 Pasquier, Chancellor, 161
 Pasquier, D'Audifred, 161 b.
 Passavant, W. A., 185
 Passavant, W. A., Jr., 186.
 Patten, Simon N., 84
 Patterson, 328.
 Patterson Josiah, 533
 Patterson, Wm., 485
 Pattison, M., 540
 Paulding, H. K., 195
 Peabody, F. G., 310
 Peel, Geo., 287
 de Pelleport-Burète, P., 195.
 Pericles, 130, 131
 Perrin, B., 549
 Pessina, 250
 Peterson, F., 532
 Petit de Julleville, 159
 Petrie, 326
 Petruccelli, 247
 Pfeiffer, A., 572
 v. Philippovich, 164
 Phin, John, 142 b.

ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY.

- Pica, 248
Pike, L. O., 319 *b*.
Piloty, R., 305 *p. n*.
Pingree, H. S., 177, 191
Pisanelli, 231 et seq.
Pitt, 499
Plato, 549
Plutarch, 131
Polson, John, 350
Poore, 221
Potter, Edw. T., 533
Potter, H. C., 183, 353
Powell, Geo. J., 167
Powell, Geo. T., 568 et seq.
Powers, H. H., 481 *p. n*.
Pownall, Thos., 124 et seq.
Prentice, W. P., 532
Preston, T. B., 195
Prevey, C. E., 304
Price, 506
Price, L. L., 547
Procter, Wm. C., 195
Prout, H. G., 157
Fryor, Jas. W., 166, 170, 333
Pullman, G. M., 188
Putnam, F. W., 531
Pyfferoen, 10, 42

Quesnay, 508 et seq.
Quimby, I. N., 167
Quincy, 214, 215

Rae, John, 507 *b*.
Rambaud, A., 158 *b*.
Randolph, L., 541 et seq.
Rasari, 535
Rasp, 534
Rathgen, K., 282, 486 *p. n*.
Rattazzi, 228
Rauchberg, 534 et seq.
Rawles, Wm. A., 303
Rawson, Rawson W., 534
Raymond, J. H., 298 *p. n*.
Raynal, Abbe, 497
Raynolds, E. V., 532
Redlich, 360
Reeves, J. S., 151-53 *r*.
Relton, F., 354
Renier, A., 359
Reynolds, Jos., 183
Ricardo, D., 126, 127, 527
Richards, G. W., 403
Richardson, A. C., 559
Richardson, Chas., 167, 188
Rils, J. A., 342
Riley, F. L., 303
Ripley, E. P., 432
Ripley, Wm. Z., 292 *p. n*.
Ritchie, 351
Ritchie, D. G., 145 *b*., 575
Ritchie, R., 543
Roberts, T. P., 542 et seq.
Robertson, 506
Robespierre, M., 147
Robinson, Jas. Harvey, 146-51 *r*., 162 *b*.,
290 *p. n*.
Roche, Chas. E., 161
Rodocanachi, E., 574
Röder, R., 360
Romero, 532
Roosevelt, T., 170, 504 *b*.
Rosewater, E., 541

Rosewater, V., 175, 558
Rosseau, Jean J., 4, 7, 51, 82, 117, 145
Rossi, Egisto, 310
Rousiers, 195
Ruiz, G. Arangio, 227-53 *pap*.
Rullkoetter, Wm., 303
Runkle, Mrs. C. A., 167
Rush, Richard, 108, 109

Saint Girons, 45
Saleilles, R., 1-78 *pap*.
Salter, Wm. M., 188, 194
Sanborn, A. F., 195
Sanborn, F. B., 532 et seq., 531-33 *mia*.
Sanders, F. W., 301, 303
Sargeant, L. J., 430
Say, Léon, 50, 507, 527
Schanz, 139
Schaunesteie, F., 573
Schiller, 151
Schlegel, 516
Schloss, D. F., 571
Schmidt, 150
Schmoller, G., 164, 281-83 *com.*, 534
Schöner, 300
Schüller, R., 527 *b*.
Schuyler, Louisa L., 310
Schwill, F., 478
Scialoja, 239 et seq.
Scofield, Cora L., 303
Seager, H. R., 507-13 *r*.
Sebastian, 504
Secretan, Chas., 532
Sella, 231, 238
Seneca, 300
Sergel, C. H., 522 *b*.
Serling, 164
Sevier, John, 504 et seq.
Sewall, J. S., 194
Seymour, H. W., 543
Shakespeare, Wm., 326 *b*., 515 et seq.
Shaler, N., 294
Shambaugh, B. F., 302
Shaw, Albert, 541
Sheldon Laura C., 301
Sheldon, Jos., 533
Sheldon, W. L., 550
Shepherd, F. S., 303
Sherwood, S., 291 *p. n*.
Siddons, F. L., 167
Sidgwick, H., 290
Siebert, W. H., 303
Siegfried, R., 538
Sierre, E., 33
Siéyès, 2, 38, 59
Sikes, E. W., 304
Silver, John A., 302
Simcox, E. J., 327 *b*.
Simmel, Geo., 412-23 *pap*.
Sirey, 27
Sixtus IV., 528
Sloane, Wm. M., 528
Slocum, Wm. F., 328, 545
Small, Albion W., 167, 355, 565
Smalley, E. V., 541 et seq.
Smith, Adam, 300, 485, 507 et seq., 527, 547
Smith, A. R., 543
Smith, C. H., 539
Smith, D. B., 541 et seq.
Smith, Eugene, 532 et seq.
Smith, G. W., 532
Smith, Goldwin, 296, 499

INDEX OF NAMES.

- Smith, L. S., 186
 Smith, P. V., 208 et seq.
 Smith, Wm., 326 *b.*
 Smyth, J. K., 194
 Snow, Freeman, 77
 Socrates, 130, 131
 Sonzogno, 233
 Sorel, A., 146 *b.*
 Sovereign, J. R., 185
 Spalding, W. F., 545
 Sparks, Jared, 124 et seq., 514
 Sparling, S. E., 304
 Spencer, C. W., 479 *p. n.*
 Spencer, Herbert, 359, 499, 502
 Spencer, W. B., 167
 Sprague, O. M. W., 303
 Springer, Wm. H., 540
 Stafford, Wm., 326 *b.*
 Stanton, J. L., 475 et seq.
 v. Stengel, C., 304 *p. n.* 305
 Stephens, H. Morse, 528
 Stephens, W. W., 507 *b.*
 Stephenson, S. M., 543
 Sterne, Simon, 537
 Stevens, R. E., 483
 Stevenson, Wm., 341
 Stewart, D., 511
 Stickney, A., 159
 Stieda, 282
 Stimson, F. J., 550
 Stöcker, 282
 Stokes, Anson P., 161 *b.*, 533
 Stoneman, Geo., 471 et seq.
 Straus, O. S., 533
 Strong, T. N., 167
 Strong, Wm. L., 169 et seq., 333 et seq.
 Struve, 537
 Stuart, H. W., 303
 Stubbs, 208
 Sturgis, 118
 Sully, 159
 Sumner, W. G., 548
 Swift, Dean, 499
 Swift, L. B., 167
 Swisher, C. C., 301
 v. Sybel, H., 148 et seq., 486 *p. n.*
 Sylvester, J. W., 530

 Taft, Wm. H., 557
 Taine, 59, 149
 Takaki, M., 302
 Tarr, R. S., 526 *b.*
 Tate, S. M., 401
 Tatum, H. T., 445
 Taussig, F. W., 102
 Taylor, J. G., 193
 Taylor, W. G. L., 295 *p. n.*
 Tenney, H. M., 185
 Thatcher, O. J., 478 *p. n.*
 Thiers, 23, 75, 150
 Thomas, E., 194
 Thomas, T. P., 302
 Thompson, Jas. W., 301
 Thucydides, 131
 Thury, M., 358, 575
 Tiedeman, C. G., 54, 268-79 *pap.*
 Timiriazov, 537
 Tipton, Col., 506
 de Tocqueville, A., 39, 147 et seq.
 Tolman, Wm. H., 191, 567
 Toner, J. M., 514 *b.*
 de Tourville, H., 195

 Towne, H. R., 571
 Toynbee, A., 194
 Traill, H. D., 485
 Trent, Capt., 514 et seq.
 Troitsky, 534 et seq.
 Trotter, S., 323 *b.*
 Trumbull, 230
 Tucker, Josiah, 510
 Tuckerman, L. B., 540
 Tunell, Geo., 303, 541 et seq.
 Turgot, 507 et seq.
 Turner, Chas. W., 482 *p. n.*
 Turner, F. J., 528
 Twitchell, W. I., 323 *b.*
 Tyler, Moses C., 528

 Uppard, W. S., 303

 Vacher, 534
 Vacherot, 60
 Vallerodix, Hubert, 195, 310
 Van Buren, M., 299
 Vance, Wm. R., 302
 Vandal, 150
 Van Duyne, H., 557
 Van Hise, C. R., 540
 Van Norden, W., 192
 Vattel, 152
 de Verschuier, 537
 Victor Emanuel, 245
 Villa, 241, 250
 Vincent, Geo. E., 478 *p. n.*
 Vincent, J. M., 291 *p. n.*
 Vivenot, 150
 Vivian, H., 346
 v. Vogelsang, K., 356
 Vogt, G., 360
 v. Vollmar, G., 195
 Voltaire, 496, 508, 510

 Wagner, A., 164, 282
 Walker, F., 301
 Walker, F. A., 80, 280 et seq., 328
 Wallace, T. F., 303
 Wallas, Graham, 287, 547
 Wallon, 24
 Walras, L., 300, 305
 Waltz, M. B., 303
 Warburton, B. H., 186
 Ward, H. O., 193
 Ward, L. F., 193
 Ward, Nathaniel, 217
 Warner, A. G., 310, 328, 545
 Warner, A. J., 533
 Warner, B. E., 515 *b.*
 Warren, E. H., 303
 Washington, Geo., 118, 497, 514 et seq.
 Wayland, F., 532 et seq.
 Wayland, H. L., 533, 550
 Weatherly, U. G., 480 *p. n.*
 Webbe, John, 127
 Weber, 282
 Weber, Adna F., 303
 Weeks, S. B., 504-7 *r.*
 Wells, 566
 Westcott, 194
 Westlake, John, 151 *b.*
 Weston, S. Burns, 549.
 Weston, S. F., 185
 v. Weyhe-Elmke, A., 573
 Wetzell, Wm. A., 302
 Wheeler, C. E., 542

ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY.

- Wheeler, F. W., 540
 Wheelwright, E. M., 174
 Whitcomb, M., 481 p. n.
 White, A. D., 533
 White, A. T., 165, 310
 White, Horace, 328
 White, W. E., 303
 Whitmore, Wm. H., 217
 Whitney, W. J., 303
 Wickes, T. H., 188
 Wickes, K., 527 &
 Widener, F. A. B., 554
 Wilby, C. B., 167
 Wilcox, D. F., 303
 Wilkins, W. G., 557
 Wilkinson, 504
 William I., 487
 William the Conqueror, 320
 Williams, Aneurid, 346
 Williams, B. W., 194
 Williams, D. E., 167
 Williams, H. W., 539
 Williams, T., 548
 Williams, Mrs. Talcott, 565
 Willich, 484
 Willis, H. P., 203
 Wilson, 118, 119
 Wilson, 566
 Wilson, Woodrow, 296 p. n., 548
- Wines, F. H., 328, 516 &, 545
 Winslow, F., 564
 Winter, F., 543
 Winthrop, J., 214
 Wisner, Geo. Y., 541 et seq.
 Wirth, M., 572
 Wolcott, Mrs. R., 310
 Wolfer, H., 545
 Wolfson, A. M., 303
 Woodford, A. B., 533
 Woodruff, C. R., 166, 342, 519
 Woodward, R. S., 531
 Worms, R., 557, 572
 Wortham, W. B., 402
 Wright, C. D., 188, 189, 191, 573
 Wright, G. F., 541
 Wright, J. A., 303
 Wright, J. A. C., 543
 Wuarin, L., 361-80 *passim*
 Wyckoff, W. A., 297 p. n.
- Yeats, 154
 Yvernès, 536
- Zahn, J. A., 358
 Zeublin, Chas., 478 p. n.
 Ziegler, O. W., 343 et seq.
 Zöllner, F., 572

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

N. B.—Titles of papers are printed in small capitals.

- Achaian League, 205
 Agricultural depression in New York, 567-69
 Alaska, "Our Western Archipelago," by H. M. Field, note, 321
 Alcoholism and charity in France, 352
 AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE, annual meeting, 530-31
American Historical Review, First issue of, note, 528
 American Institute of Christian Sociology, 182
American Journal of Sociology, 354
 AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, annual meeting, 531-33
 American Society of Municipal Improvements, 557-58
 Associations, meetings. American Association for Advancement of Science, 530-31; American Institute of Christian Sociology, 182; American Social Science, 328, 531-33; American Society of Municipal Improvements, 557-58; Church Social Union, 183; International Deep Waterways Convention, 540-44; International Statistical Institute, 534-47; Medico-Legal Congress, 564; National Municipal League, Conference, 166; National Prison, 328, 545-46
- Balance of Trade, Pownall's opinion on, 124
 Banks and State treasuries, 397-411
 Baths, Public, 186
 Biography. "Andrew Jackson," by A. V. Goodpasture, note, 524
 "George William Curtis," by Edw. Cary, reviewed, 308-9
 "Journal of Col. Geo. Washington," edited by J. M. Toner, reviewed, 514-15
 "Life of Adam Smith," by J. Rae, reviewed, 507-13
 "Life and Writings of Turgot," by W. W. Stephens, reviewed, 507-13
 "Writings of Thos. Paine," edited by M. D. Conway, reviewed, 495-500
See History.
 Biologic Sociology, Criticism of, 562
 Boston, Amendments to charter of, 173;
 Finances of, 336
 Brooklyn legislative investigation, 336
 Buffalo, City contracts of, 559
- California, Railroad Commission of, *See* Transportation
 Cantons of Switzerland, Relation of, to Confederation, 362
 Catholicism, and Italian constitution, 237

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Charities, Directories of, 349; National Conference of, 184, 566
 "The Organization of Charities," by D. C. Gilman, reviewed, 309-12
 Poor relief, 349-50; Poor laws, 565-66
 Chicago, Reform in, 565; Water frauds in, 565
 Church Social Union, 183
 Churches and social reform, 353
 Cincinnati, Finances of, 566
 Cities. Slums of great cities, Report of Commissioner of Labor on, note, 189
 Civilization. "Primitive Civilizations," by J. E. Simcox, note, 327
 Commerce, Reprint of Mun's "England's Treasure by Foreign Trade," note, 160
 Commercial Geography, Text books on, by E. C. K. Gonner, H. R. Mill, H. deB. Gibbins, and L. R. W. Lyde, reviewed, 153-55
 Compatibility of offices in France, 46
 Compulsory voting, in Switzerland, 378
 Connecticut, Colonial town constitutions, 218; Representation in State Legislature, 262
 Constitutional Law. THE AMENDMENTS TO THE ITALIAN CONSTITUTION, 227-53.
 Development of the constitution, 227; Constituent assembly thought necessary, 228; The idea abandoned, 230; Power of Parliament to change upheld, 231; Changes made, 236; Catholic religion declared to be sole religion of the State, 237; Laws at variance, 241; Dotation of the crown, 245; Rules on quorum, 246; Eligibility of Senators, 248; Unusual tribunals, 248; Oaths of Deputies, 249; Modification of statute by usage, 251; Proposed reform of Senate, 252; Evolutionary character of constitution, 253
 "Adoption and Amendment of Constitutions in Europe and America," by C. Borgeaud, English translation of, note, 162
 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION OF FRANCE, 1-78.
 Tendencies of recent developments, 1; Theory of constituent powers, 3; Neglected in constitutions, 5; Parliamentary character of present constitution, 7; Compared with English, 9; Enlargement of legislative power, 11; Unwritten constitutional features, 14; Legislation on suffrage, 17; Mode of election, 19; Multiple candidacies, 23; Prohibition a limitation of universal suffrage, 32; Organization of the Senate, 37; Its anomalous character, 39; Recent reforms, 43; Power of the Senate, 49; Predominance of the legislature, 54; Presidential powers, 56; Conservatism in the government, 57; Inadequacy of the monarchical solution, 59; Disintegration of party life, 62; Stability of present constitution, 66; Conception of State functions, 69; Lines of future development, 73.

INCOME TAXES DECISIONS AS AN OBJECT LESSON IN CONSTITUTIONAL CONSTRUCTION, 268-79. Fictions in the law, 268; Meaning of framers a canon of interpretation, 268; Income tax a direct tax, 272; Other direct taxes not so declared, 275; The pressure of public opinion, 277; The meaning of framers not a proper guide, 278
 THE SOURCES OF AMERICAN FEDERALISM, 197-226; Roots of governmental forms, 197; Principle of federalism not copied, 199; Distinctive idea of federalism, 200; American federalism not invented, 203; Germs in early history, 204; Especially English, 207; Relation of New England towns to colonial government essentially federal, 211; Plymouth, 212; Massachusetts, 213; Connecticut, 218; Rhode Island, 221; Quality of citizenship common to all, 224.
 "Verfassung des deutschen Reiches," by A. Arndt, reviewed, 488-91.
 Co-operation, Co-operative Congress, 346.
 "Co-operative Production," by B. Jones, reviewed, 140-42
 Democracy. RECENT POLITICAL EXPERIMENTS IN THE SWISS DEMOCRACY, 361-78; Progress of democracy, 361; Cantons and federal government, 362; Cantons originate experiments, 363; Primitive democracy, 364; Referendum a return to first principles, 365; Right of initiative, 367; Its application, 368; Proportional representation, 370; Its beginnings, 371; Its method in Geneva, 374; Its probable extension, 377; Compulsory voting, 378; Other tendencies, 379
 "The Rise of Modern Democracy in Old and New England," by C. Borgeaud, reviewed, 306-8
 Detroit, Cultivation of vacant lots in, 191; Local administration of, 177
 Denver, Cultivation of waste lands in, 566
 Distribution, Ethical aspects of, 79 et seq.
 Economic history. Stafford's "Discourse of the Commonwealth," German translation, note, 326
 "Economic Geology," by R. S. Tarr, second edition, note, 526
 Economics. ECONOMIC THEORY IN AMERICA PRIOR TO 1776, 124-28. Franklin on money, 124; Pownall on balance of trade, 124; Views on paper money, 125; Measure of value, 126; Value and utility, 126; Volume of paper money, 127
 "Die klassische Nationalökonomie," by R. Schüller, note, 527
 "Wert, Kapital und Rente," by K. Wicksell, note, 527
 Education. "Studies in Education," by A. B. Hart, reviewed, 500-2
 Education in economics and politics. Berlin summer courses, 163, 281-83

ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY.

- LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE, 283-89; Need of the school, 283; Proposed plan, 285; Courses offered, 286; Special features, 288
- In theological seminaries, 348
- VACATION COURSES IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICS, 546-50; At Oxford, 547; At Philadelphia, 548; At Plymouth, 549.
- "Evolution and Effort," by E. Kelly, reviewed, 502-4
- Finance, Municipal, in Cincinnati, 556; in New York, 333; in Omaha, 175.
- "Principles and Practice of Finance," by E. Carroll, note, 523.
- "Public Finance," by C. F. Bastable, second edition, note, 523
- France. Alcoholism and Charity in, 352
- See Constitutional Law
- French Revolution, "L'Europe et la Révolution française," by A. Sorel, reviewed, 146-51
- Funds, Custody of State, 397-411
- Gain-Sharing and Bonus on production, 571
- Gas administration, in London, 177; in Pennsylvania, 331
- Geneva, Proportional representation in, 374
- Geography. "Complete Geography," by A. E. Frye, note, 322
- "Lessons in the New Geography," by S. Trotter, note, 322
- See Commercial Geography
- Glasgow, Street railways in, 179
- Government. "Suggestions on Government," by S. E. Moffett, note, 159
- Governmental irresponsibility, illustrated in California Railroad Commission, 469-77
- Gresham's law, 280-1
- HISTORY. A DEFINITION AND A FORECAST, 128-31. Effect of specialization, 128; Unity of history in progressive action, 129; History study of personality of a people, 130
- Functions of history, 416
- "Meaning of History, The," by F. Harrison, reviewed, 312-13
- American History. "Essays in American History," by H. Ferguson, reviewed, 500-2
- "Pathfinder in American History," by Gordy and Twitchell, note, 323
- "Winning of the West," by T. Roosevelt, reviewed, 504-7.
- See Biography
- English History. "England in the XIX Century," by M. E. W. Latimer, note, 525
- "English History for American Readers," by T. W. Higginson and Edw. Channing, note, 524
- "English History in Shakespeare's Plays," by B. E. Warner, reviewed, 515-16
- "English Seamen in the XVI Century," by J. A. Froude, note, 322
- European History. "Histoire générale," by E. Lavisse et A. Rambaud, note, 158
- "Translations and Reprints of Sources of European History," note, 162
- "Europe, 476-918," by C. Oman, reviewed, 317-19
- French History. *Memoirs of Chancellor Pasquier*, note, 161
- See Biography
- German History. "Deutsche Geschichte," Vol. iv, by K. Lamprecht, reviewed, 313-16
- Greek History. "City-State of the Greeks and Romans," by W. W. Fowler, reviewed, 317-19
- Italian History. See Italy
- Roman History. "History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages," by F. Gregorovius, English translation, note, 324
- See Greek History above
- House of Lords. "Baronage and the Senate," by W. C. Macpherson, reviewed, 316-17
- "A Constitutional History of the House of Lords," by L. O. Pike, reviewed, 319-20
- "The Question of the Houses," by C. A. Houfe, note, 325
- Illinois, Incorporation of cities in, 172
- Immigration, in 1895, 348
- "Un-American Immigration," by R. M. Atchison, note, 320
- Incorporation of cities and villages in Illinois, 172
- Independent Treasury, in United States, 397; in the States, 398, 402 et seq.
- Initiative, Right of, in Switzerland, 367
- Insurance, Municipal fire, 339; For railway employees. See Transportation
- INTERNATIONAL DEEP WATERWAYS CONVENTION, 540-44
- International Law. "Chapters on International Law," by J. Westlake, reviewed, 151-53
- INTERNATIONAL STATISTICAL INSTITUTE, annual meeting, 543-47
- Italy. "The Liberation of Italy," by E. M. Cesaresco, note, 156
- See Constitutional Law
- Judiciary, Constitutional position of, in Italy, 250
- Justice in taxation, 95
- Labor, As a basis for distribution, 82; Employment of women, 570; Gain-sharing, 571; In public works, how paid, 165; Sweating system, 345; Toynebee Society of Philadelphia, 187
- Labor Bulletin, 569
- "Life and Labor of the People in London," vols. v. and vi., by C. Booth, reviewed, 490-93
- Legal and Political Science. Mühlbrecht's "Wegweiser," note, 525
- Legislative power. Its growth in France, 54
- Legislatures, in New England, 254-67

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

- Liberty, Religious, in America, prize essay competition announced, 163
 Local government, in early England, 207
 London, Gas Companies in, 177; Improvement of dwellings in, 336; School administration of, 561; Water supply of, 337; 560
See Labor
 "Louisiana Studies," by A. Fortier, note, 321

 Majorities, nominal and not real, 383
 Massachusetts, Colonial town constitution in, 213
 Medico-Legal Congress, 564
 Ministers, in Italy, 251
 Monarchy, Its promises to modern France, 59
 Money, Franklins views on, 124; Propositions of Pennsylvania colonial legislature, 125; Tench Coxe's views, 126; Means of regulating volume in American colonies, 127
 THE FORMULATION OF GRESHAM'S LAW, 280-81; Antiquity of usual formula, 280; Criticised by Walker, 280; Connection of the law with foreign trade, 281
 "Bimetallism," by H. D. MacLeod, reviewed, 142-45
 "Common Sense Currency," by J. Phin, reviewed, 142-45
 "Honest Dollar, An," by E. B. Andrews, note, 155
 "Honest Money," by A. F. Fonda, reviewed, 142-45
 "Joint-Metallism," by A. P. Stokes, note, 161
 "Monetary Systems of the World," by M. L. Muhleman, note, 160
 "Natural Law of Money," by W. Brough, note, 523
 Popular literature on the money question, reviewed, 518-22; including "Coin's Financial School," by W. S. Harvey; "Facts about Money," by J. L. Laughlin; "Sound Money," by Fraser and Sergel; and "Sound Currency" pamphlets
 Municipal government, Notes on, 165-80; 330-42; 551-61
 Municipal problems, Current literature on, 179; 341

 National Assembly of France, Its functions, 9
 National Municipal League Conference, 166
 NATIONAL PRISON ASSOCIATION, annual meeting, 545-46
 New York City, Charities directory of, 349; Police administration in, 169; Reform movement in, 170, 333, 552; Taxation in, 333; Vacation schools in, 192
 New York State, Agricultural depression in, 567-69
 New England, Representation in Legislatures of, 254-67

 Omaha, Taxation in, 175
 Oxford, Vacation courses at, 547

 Paris, Octroi taxation, 341
 Parks, in Philadelphia, 332
 Parliament, Power of, to change Constitution in Italy, 231
 See House of Lords
 Parties, in France, 62 et seq.; Allegiance of Congressmen to, 121
 Penology. "Punishment and Reformation," by F. E. Wines, reviewed, 516-18
 See Associations
 Pennsylvania, Gas companies in, 331; Street railways, 168
 Pensions, for Railway Employees, 442
 Personal Notes, 290-305; 478-87
 Philadelphia, Councilmen of, their eligibility, 331; Municipal reform, in, 565; Parks of, 332; Public baths in, 186; Public Building Commission of, 330; School administration in, 167; Street railway consolidation in, 553; Tailors' strike in, 345; Vacation courses at, 548
 Philanthropy, "Life of Charles Loring Brace," reviewed, 132-33
 Philosophy of history, Its function, 419
 Plymouth colony, Town constitutions in, 212
 Pymouth, Vacation Courses at, 549
 Police administration in New York, 169
 Poor, Aged Poor Commission, 350; Poor relief, 349; Poor laws, 565
 Population, Vital Statistics, 347
 Progression in taxation, Its virtues, 96
 Proportional Representation. *See Associations*
 See also Representation
 Psychology, Analogy of, with sociology, 413
 Public works, Municipal, 165; In Buffalo, 559

 Quorum, in Italy, 246

 Railways. *See Transportation*
 Referendum, Its functions, 52; In Switzerland, 365
 Reform, Municipal, in Chicago, 565; in New York, 170, 333, 552; in Philadelphia, 565; in San Francisco, 555; Municipal League of Philadelphia, 554
 Relief for railway employees, *See Transportation*
 Rent, Its justification in distribution, 88
 Representation. THE POSITION OF THE AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS, 117-24; What does the representative represent, 117; National character of our government, 118; Control of States over their Senators, 119; Congressmen not delegates, 120; Party allegiance, 121; Powers of leaders, 122
 REPRESENTATION IN NEW ENGLAND LEGISLATURES, 254-67; Diversity of rules for electors, 254; For character of Legislatures, 256; Basis of representation, 256; Effect on party supremacy, 264; Influence of cities limited, 266
 Representation, Proportional, Conference on, 239; In Switzerland, 370
 THE SOCIAL BASIS OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION, 381-96; Value of the system, 381; Rule of minorities

ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY.

- at present, 383; Representation in the States, 384; Actual power of the wealthy minority, 385; Can the majority rule, 387; Essentials of citizenship, 388; Class representation inevitable, 389; Objections to proportional representation, 392; Advantages of, 394
- Revenue frauds, encouraged by tariff laws, 103 et seq.; 116
- Rhode Island, Colonial town constitutions of, 221; Representation in State Legislature, 260, 261
- Rights. "Natural Rights," by D. G. Ritchie, reviewed, 145-46
- San Francisco, Reform movement in, 555
- School administration, in London, 561; in Philadelphia, 167
- Scrutin de l'Etat*, 19
- Senate, in France, 12, 37; in Italy, 252
- See House of Lords
- Senators, Responsibility of, to States, 119
- Slums of great cities, Report of Commissioner of Labor on, note, 189
- Social classes, Division of, 181, 343; Influence of, on legislation, 385 et seq.
- Social conditions, "Three Months in a Workshop," by P. Göhre, reviewed, 136-37
- Social Contract Theory, Influence of, on French Constitutions, 7
- Socialism, "Practicable Socialism," by S. and H. Barnett, note, 155
- Social problem, "Aspects of the Social Problem," by B. Bosanquet and others, reviewed, 493-95
- Social questions, Current bibliography on, 193, 356, 572
- Social science, Relation to sociology, 422
- See Sociology
- Social settlement, in Pittsburgh, 564
- Sociological notes, 181-96; 343-59; 562-75
- Sociology, Criticism of biologic, 562; in theological seminaries, 344
- THE PROBLEM OF SOCIOLOGY, 412-23; Recognition of social forces, 412; Object of sociological science, 413; Found in reciprocal relations, 414; Not the content of such relations, 416; Analogy with history, 416; Comparative methods essential, 417; Distinct from philosophy of history, 419; Sociology not thus unduly limited, 420; Relation to the social sciences, 422
- State, Federal states, 200; Functions of, 69
- "The Sphere of the State," by F. S. Hoffman, note, 156
- State Funds. CUSTODY OF STATE FUNDS, 397-411; Bank and independent treasury system in U. S., 397; Latter used in few States, 398; Extent of bank system, 399; Diversity of details, 400; Its advantages, 401; Disadvantages of treasury system, 402; Summary of laws and practice, 406
- Statistics, Vital 347
- See Associations
- Street Railways, Consolidation of, in Philadelphia, 553; In Glasgow, 179; And Local Authorities, 168; Recent development of, 551
- Strikes, Chicago strike of 1894, 188; and Papal Encyclical, 188; Tailors' strike in Philadelphia, 345
- Suffrage, in France, 17 et seq.
- Switzerland, Recent political experiments in, 361-78; Proportional representation in, 392
- Tariffs. THE MINIMUM PRINCIPLE IN THE TARIFF OF 1828 AND ITS RECENT REVIVAL, 100-16; Early application of minimum rates, 100; Graded rates in 1828, 102; Consequent frauds on the revenue, 103; Methods of the same, 104; Stringent administrative laws, 109; Evils of the minimum plan, 112; Revised in act of 1890, 114
- Taxation. THE ETHICAL BASIS OF DISTRIBUTION AND ITS APPLICATION TO TAXATION, 79-99; Ethics and economics, 79; Distribution according to service, 80; Labor basis, 82; Want basis, 83; Viewed from standpoint of consumption, 84; Scope of service, 86; Is rent service, 88; Formulation of justice, 92; Sacrifices of taxation, 96; Their distribution, 96
- Taxes, Direct. See Constitutional Law
- Towns, In early New England, 211 et seq.; Influence of, in New England Legislatures, 259 et seq.
- "Town Life in the XV. Century," by Mrs. J. R. Green, reviewed, 137-40
- Transportation. "Cincinnati Southern Railway," by J. H. Hollander, note, 158
- "National Railways," by J. Hole, note, 157
- RAILROAD COMMISSION OF CALIFORNIA, 469-77; Irresponsibility in government illustrated, 469; Formation of the Commission, 470; Its program, 471; Program of Commissioners and parties, 472; Broken pledges, 475
- RAILWAY DEPARTMENTS FOR THE RELIEF AND INSURANCE OF EMPLOYEES, 424-68; Extent of these departments, 424; Their foundation, 425; Philanthropic and financial aspects, 426; Methods employed, 427; History of these organizations, 429; Workings of the B. & O. and P. R. R. systems, 434; Pension features, 442; Savings features, 448; Results, 451; Objections to the system, 457; Advantages, 461; Conclusions, 467
- "Theory of Transportation," by C. H. Cooley, reviewed, 134-35
- See Associations
- Unemployed, English Reports on, 347; Massachusetts Commission Report on, note, 190
- Value, Franklin's views on, 126
- Verein für Sozial politik, Summer lectures by, 163
- Voting, Compulsory, in Zürich, 378
- Women, Employment of, 570

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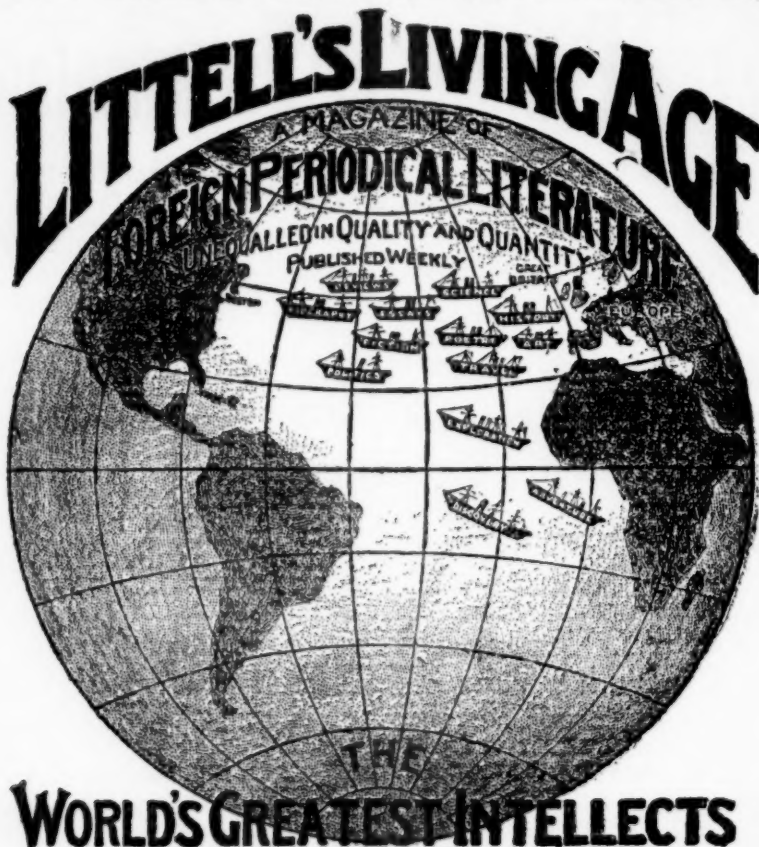
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